





## Lull Permits U.K. to Deploy Sophisticated Missiles Ashore

By Jay Ross  
Washington Post Service

LONDON — Argentina's heavy air raids Sunday came after a lull that provided vital time for Britain to reinforce and consolidate its positions on East Falkland Island and to deploy land-based, anti-aircraft missiles that were used Sunday for the first time in combat.

Since their initial landing Friday, the British ground forces have been strengthened by emplacement of Rapier anti-aircraft missiles, a weapon that operates automatically, has its own guidance system and a range of up to 10 miles (16 kilometers).

A British reporter at the bridgehead said he saw a Skyhawk shot down by a Rapier battery. He also said a turboprop Pucara counter-subsurface plane, flying from an airstrip on the island, was shot down

by a four-man ground patrol using small arms.

Despite Sunday's attack on the task force ships, analysts here expect the war gradually to shift from an air-sea confrontation to an air-ground one. The British Defense Ministry announced that at least six of Argentina's fighter-bombers were downed Sunday. In all, Britain has reported that more than 40 Argentine planes have been destroyed.

It is believed that Argentine pilots are likely to have increasing difficulty now that Britain has consolidated and reinforced its bridgehead.

Thus far Argentine tactics have centered on winning a war of attrition in the air and on imposing heavy casualties to wear down Britain's will to fight.

Argentina's numerical superiority in aircraft, originally calculated

at about 8 to 1, has been considered vital for it to hold the islands. But heavy Argentine losses and the arrival of at least 20 more Harrier jets probably have brought Argentina's advantage down to about 2 to 1.

In addition, British military analysts maintain that the Harriers have superior maneuverability to the Argentine fighter-bombers, which are mainly models that are 15 to 20 years old.

If British reports are accurate, Argentina has lost at least 20 Mi-8s and Skyhawks in the last three days. It is not known whether others failed to make it back to the mainland because of damage or lack of fuel. Britain has acknowledged the loss of four Harriers.

On the assumption that only 75 percent of the planes available are operational at any time, former British Air Marshal Stewart Menaul estimated that Argentina may only be capable of putting about 60 planes in the air now as opposed to 30 for Britain.

Once airborne, they must face possible opposition on land from the Rapiers and the shoulder-held Blowpipe missiles as well as conventional small-arms fire. It is also believed that the air force's Harriers can now operate from airstrips of steel tracking put down by engineers.

The Argentine pilots still face attacks from Harriers based on the two aircraft carriers and a variety of sea-based missiles on escort ships.

Some analysts think Argentina may soon have trouble fielding enough trained pilots and may have difficulty in maintaining the jets and turning them around quickly for new sorties.

One analyst said the loss of pilots is far more serious than the loss of aircraft. The pilot casualty rate may cause Argentina to reconsider its air strategy, he added.

"The Argentines have had a hell of a reduction in their capability. With the new land defenses the pilots face prodigious odds. It will be very much more difficult for the Argentine Air Force," an analyst said. He added that morale of the pilots might be suffering.

The Rapiers are one of the new generation of air defense missiles similar to the Sea Wolf missile that is carried by some of the British frigates. Both fire automatically and home in on their target with their guidance system unless they are restrained by their crew.

The Rapiers, however, is an "area defense system" as opposed to the simple "point" defense offered by the Sea Wolf. The Sea Wolf can only protect the ship it is based on, one within 1,000 yards (910 meters).

"The Rapiers provide an umbrella of cover" that cannot be obtained from a sea-based missile system, the analyst said.

### S. Africa Said to Supply Arms

JOHANNESBURG (Reuters) — A Johannesburg newspaper said Monday that South Africa is supplying Argentina with weapons, including Israeli-made ship-to-ship missiles, for use in the Falklands fighting.

The paper, the Star, quoted sources in Cape Town as saying that in addition to the Gabriel missiles, the weapons included spare parts for Mirage fighter-bombers.

The Gabriel missile is estimated to have a range of about 20 miles. The Star estimated its cost at about \$535,000 and said the missile is as devastating as the Exocet with which the Argentines sank the British destroyer Sheffield. Its warhead consists of 400 pounds (181 kilograms) of high explosives.



An Argentine prisoner of war being marched by a British paratrooper on the Falkland Islands in this photograph released by the British Ministry of Defense. He is wearing a British Royal Marines sweater that he had on when he was captured.

## Tory Chairman Denies Early Election Planned

By R.W. Apple Jr.  
New York Times Service

LONDON — Cecil Parkinson, chairman of the Conservative Party, has said there was no chance that Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher would call a snap election this fall in the hope of profiting from a successful military campaign in the Falkland Islands.

"We would not dream of trying to engineer a campaign around it," Mr. Parkinson, a member of Mrs. Thatcher's inner war cabinet, said Sunday. "This is not being considered, nor will it be. We have two more years, almost, of this Parliament. We have many things left to be done, and I believe we will carry on and see our term of office through."

It had been widely suggested by politicians of all parties in the last week or so that Mrs. Thatcher would try to capitalize on the accomplishments of the British task force before she got bogged down in renewed negotiations on the future of the islands. Although she is not required to call a general election until May 1984, she is free to call one whenever she chooses.

The Falklands crisis has transformed the prospects of Britain's political parties — not only those of the Tories, but also those of the opposition Labor Party and of the Liberals and the Social Democrats, who have joined together in an electoral alliance.

According to the opinion polls, the prime minister and her party are more popular now than at any other time since she took office three years ago. A Gallup Poll completed just before the British landing in the Falklands, showed the Conservatives with 41.5 percent of the vote — 10 percentage points more than a month ago — and showed a similar increase in Mrs. Thatcher's personal rating as prime minister.

A strong Tory showing in local elections earlier this month, at a time when the party had feared a debacle, bore out the polls, and politicians believe the landings at San Carlos Bay have increased Mrs. Thatcher's standing.

A poll completed after the landings showed no fewer than 76 percent of Britons who were questioned backed the prime minister's decision to land troops on the islands. She is also thought to have benefited from the announcement last week that the inflation rate had returned to single figures for the first time during the government's term.

Mrs. Thatcher has not, however, overcome all her problems. An academic study suggested Sunday that unemployment would remain above three million throughout this decade, a judgment many private economists endorse, and joblessness could prove a major electoral liability. So could an unanticipated military setback in the Falklands.

But the biggest fear among the prime minister's advisers is a backlash among hard-line Tories when she begins the task of deciding the long-term future of the islands. Foreign Secretary Francis Pym and others believe negotiations must eventually be resumed, but many right-wingers, natural supporters of Mrs. Thatcher, disagree violently.

For Michael Foot, the Labor leader, war in the Falklands has exacerbated the already enormous task of restoring unity to a party that is deeply split on almost every important issue. Most of his party has backed him in his limited endorsement of the landing, however unenthusiastically, but the left wing has refused to do so.

Tony Benn, Mr. Foot's nemesis on a score of subjects, demanded and won Thursday night a vote on government policy. Mr. Foot and most of the other Labor MPs abstained, but Mr. Benn and about 30 party colleagues voted against Mrs. Thatcher.

Probably the biggest political casualty of the conflict in the South Atlantic is the Liberal-Social Democratic alliance, which was riding high in the days before the Argentine seizure of the Falklands April 2. Roy Jenkins, the former Labor Cabinet member, had just won an uphill victory in a by-election in Glasgow, and political analysts were seriously discussing his chances of becoming the next prime minister.

## Argentina Portraying Crisis As Fight With Superpowers

By Jackson Diehl  
Washington Post Service

BUENOS AIRES — Argentina's military government is now trying to change what was originally portrayed here as an assertion of territorial claims into a Latin American struggle against the Western power structure.

At the same time, the administration of President Leopoldo Galtieri has revised its rightist foreign

### NEWS ANALYSIS

policy to embrace alliances with the nonaligned nations and liberal Latin American governments.

Argentina is no longer simply fighting for control of a small group of islands. Foreign Minister Nicanor Costa Mendez said in a press conference last week. Instead, he said, it is striking a blow against "the international status quo" since World War II that cedes control of the West to the United States and Western Europe.

By fighting back, Mr. Costa Mendez and other Argentine officials have maintained recently, Argentina has come to embody the effort of developing nations, especially in Latin America, to assert themselves politically and economically against the superpowers.

Mr. Costa Mendez said in the press conference that he believes Argentina's battle would have a "profound effect on the development of international relations and would considerably improve understanding between North and South."

The shift by the United States from neutrality to open support for Britain has also helped the Argentine cause by increasing the perception here that the superpowers are enforcing an unjust order.

Now, Argentina is finding increasingly strong diplomatic support among South American states, which have been alarmed by the Argentine seizure of the Falklands April 2. Roy Jenkins, the former Labor Cabinet member, had just won an uphill victory in a by-election in Glasgow, and political analysts were seriously discussing his chances of becoming the next prime minister.

In the seven weeks since then, the Social Democrats have taken a drubbing in the local elections, with the Liberals faring only a little better, and Mr. Jenkins has all but disappeared from the political scene. Two more parliamentary by-elections are imminent, and the Conservatives are expected to win both easily.

Last week, Shirley Williams, another of the more popular figures in the new party, announced she would not challenge Mr. Jenkins for his leadership in a ballot of all members later this year. But David Owen, the Social Democratic spokesman in Parliament, let it be known that he would.

Before the Falklands dispute erupted, Mr. Owen, a former Labor foreign secretary, would have had little chance in such a contest. He was widely viewed, even within his own party, as too brash and too ambitious. But with his speeches in the Commons and his dozens of television appearances over the last seven weeks, he has increased his following substantially.

Alan Watkins, the political columnist of The Observer, said that Mr. Jenkins would likely defeat Mr. Owen, "but such an outcome is by no means as certain as it was seven weeks ago."

The broad ramifications of the fighting, for the government at least, seem to have little to do with Argentina's initial invasion April 2. The small military group who planned the operation acted im-

pulsively, according to widespread reports here, and did not believe that their action would result in a war or even a significant international confrontation.

As a result, Argentina explained the invasion strictly in parochial political terms. In a national television address on April 2, Gen. Galtieri made no mention of North-South relations or Old-World colonialism.

He said simply that the decision to invade was made because of the "lack of recognition of Argentine rights" in the territory, which it had claimed since 1833.

Asserting that the military forces had acted to "save national honor," Gen. Galtieri said that "the decision resulted from a necessity to put an end to the interminable succession of evasions and delays" by Britain in turning over "territory that by legitimate right is part of the national fatherland." The explanation was consistent with decades of Argentine foreign policy, which had pictured Argentine occupation of the Falklands not only as a right but as the key to its destiny to control a large part of Antarctica. It is only since the conflict has grown deeper that Argentina has offered deeper explanations of why it is willing to fight.

The key to Argentina's present position is that the Falklands are "a vestige of colonialism," maintained by an extracolonial power. Argentina has frequently used this argument in international forums in past years to support its claim to the Falklands.

But the colonialism argument, while attractive to Latin American countries, can become difficult at times in Argentina's case, as Mr. Costa Mendez demonstrated in his press conference last week.

In a major speech last week, Navy commander Jorge Anaya portrayed the conflict as the beginning of a new relationship in the West, with Latin America taking the lead from decadent northern powers.

"We're the protagonists of a historic episode that we have neither sought nor provoked," Mr. Anaya said. "However, it has allowed us to understand both Argentines and all of humanity, the reality of the world we live in, which no longer admits the superpower."

## KGB Chief Andropov Gets a Top Party Post

By John Morrison  
Reuters

MOSCOW — Yuri V. Andropov, the Soviet security chief, was named Monday as secretary of the Communist Party's Central Committee, Tass reported.

Quoting a report issued by the Central Committee, Tass also announced that Vladimir Dolgikh, a secretary responsible for heavy industry, had been made a candidate member of the party's Politburo.

Mr. Andropov, 67, a full member of the Politburo, has headed the Committee for State Security, the KGB, since 1967.

His switch back to the party secretariat, where he served in the 1960s, is likely to leave him well placed for eventual succession to Leonid I. Brezhnev as the party's secretary-general, according to Western analysts.

Handing Seen  
Mr. Andropov, a tall man with thick glasses, took the most experienced members of the Politburo in foreign affairs.

He has always been regarded as a possible successor to Mr. Brezhnev, 75, but his leadership of the KGB has been seen as a handicap by Western experts.

The Soviet sources said the appointment to the secretariat meant Mr. Andropov would probably re-

linquish his KGB chairmanship in the near future.

The switch — one of the most significant in recent years in the Kremlin leadership — may mean that Mr. Andropov will take over some or all of the functions of Mikhail A. Suslov, who died Jan. 25.

Mr. Suslov, who was 79, was effectively No. 2 in the party secretariat and was the Kremlin's top ideologist.

Most Western analysts in Moscow believe that since Mr. Suslov's death, effective control over ideology has been wielded by a close associate of Mr. Brezhnev, Konstantin U. Chernenko.

Mr. Chernenko, for many years Mr. Brezhnev's chief of staff and close associate, is a relative newcomer to the Politburo. But his closeness to the party leader has led to speculation that he might become Mr. Brezhnev's successor.

Mr. Chernenko, 70, would appear to be the main loser in Mr. Andropov's promotion.

Mr. Andropov was ambassador to Budapest when Soviet troops crushed the anti-Communist uprising in Hungary in 1956.

In 1973 Mr. Andropov moved up from candidate to full member of the Politburo. He holds the rank of general in the army but, as if to emphasize his civilian status, never wears a uniform.

## U.S. High Court Agrees to Rule on Abortion Curbs

United Press International

WASHINGTON — The Supreme Court agreed Monday to rule on the power of state and local governments to place limits on a woman's right to an abortion.

The justices will hear joint appeals in six cases, focusing on the constitutionality of state abortion laws in Virginia and Missouri and a city ordinance in Akron, Ohio.

The cases involve the issues of hospitalization of women seeking abortions in the fourth to sixth month of pregnancy, parental consent, "informed" consent, waiting periods, proper disposal of aborted fetuses and requirements that two physicians be present for second-trimester abortions.

The Akron case involves a provision that all second-trimester abortions must be performed in a hospital. The Virginia case also focused on a law requiring a woman who is four to six months pregnant to check into a hospital for an abortion. The Missouri case deals with an informed-consent law and rules mandating parental consent procedures for young women.

The court's landmark 1973 decision in Roe vs. Wade generally upheld a woman's right to have an abortion.

## Opposition Party Gains in Iceland

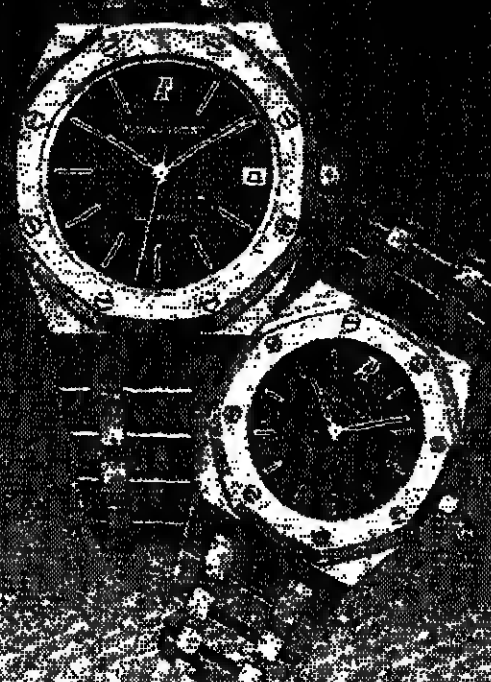
The Associated Press

REYKJAVIK — The opposition Independence Party has scored major gains in municipal elections throughout Iceland.

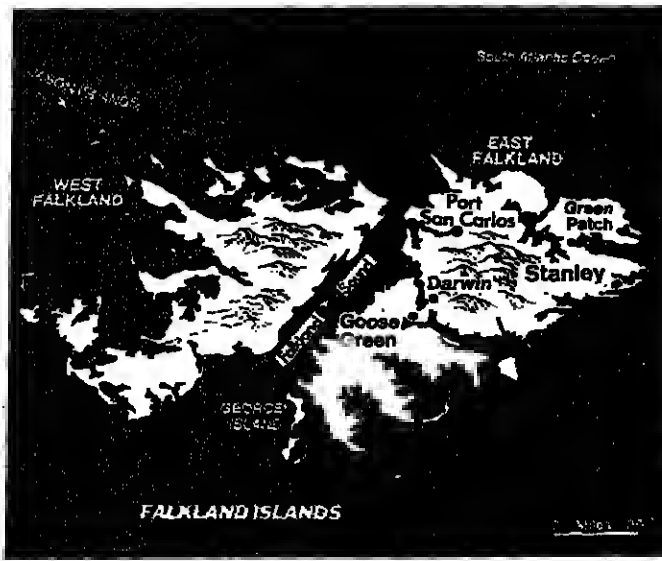
Returns from Saturday's voting showed that the party won 12 of the 21 seats in the Reykjavik Town Council, which they had lost control of in 1978 after 50 years in power. The People's Alliance Party, a Communist group that had previous control of the Reykjavik council, lost 10.5 percent of its support in the capital.

Nationally, with an electorate of 133,698, results showed the Conservatives took 45.5 percent of the vote, gaining 5.9 percentage points.

## The Royal Oak



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## Britain Reports Its Troops 'Fully Established' on Island

(Continued from Page 1)

spokesman as saying that Argentine forces were controlling the area around Port San Carlos on East Falkland Island where British Royal Marines landed Friday.

The spokesman said Argentine artillery was pounding British positions and preventing the marines from advancing.

To Washington, President Reagan said that any aid the United States gives Britain would not involve "troops or anything involved in the fighting."

He said the United States and Britain have reached no new agreements as a result of the crisis but that there are "certain bilateral relationships" and agreements tied to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization dealing with mutual assistance.

The British Defense Ministry said the latest downings of Argentine planes took place near the San Carlos beachhead. It said several waves of Mirages and Skyhawks attacked and were engaged by British Sea Harrier jets, missiles and guns from British ships in San Carlos Bay and Rapier ground-to-air missiles.

In speaking to Parliament Monday, Mr. Nott said that Argentine aircraft that penetrated the British fleet's air defense screen on Friday had damaged five ships, including the frigate Ardent, which eventually sank.

"Since that action the task force has been reinforced by the arrival of more, highly capable warships, more than compensating for those damaged or lost in action so far," he said.

He did not elaborate, but military analysts speculated that the luxury liner Queen Elizabeth 2, which had been turned into a troopship with 3,000 infantrymen aboard, had arrived in the area with a protective escort of warships.

Britain has now had at least four ships put out of action by Argentine warplanes. The British Defense Ministry has reported at least 49 Argentine planes and helicopters — nearly a quarter of its air force — either shot down or destroyed on the ground.

Mr. Nott said the Argentines lost six of the planes they sent in an attack against the British beachhead Sunday.

## WORLD BRIEFS

### Brezhnev Vows Support of SWAPO

MOSCOW — President Leonid I. Brezhnev told the Soviets of Africa Monday that the United States and its allies were using direct military pressure to gain greater influence over the continent.

Mr. Brezhnev, whose message was issued in honor of Africa Liberation Day, pledged the Soviet Union's support to the guerrillas of the South-West Africa People's Organization in South-West Africa (Namibia).

"It is no secret that an attempt is being made to cover the countries of Africa with a network of military bases, that the Rapid Deployment Force is targeted against them and that the entire arsenal of means of blackmail, pressure and provocations is being used against them," he said.

### Algiers Wants Egypt Kept Estranged

ALGIERS — Foreign Minister Ahmed Taleb Ibrahimi said Monday at a meeting of the Arab Solidarity Front that the front should reject moves to get Egypt back into the Arab fold.

Mr. Ibrahimi's remarks apparently referred to overtures made to Egypt by Jordan and Morocco since the Cairo government recovered the Sinai last month under its peace treaty with Israel. Arab diplomatic sources said improves Arab relations with Egypt have been encouraged by Saudi Arabia.

Foreign Minister Mohammed Boucetta of Morocco will visit Cairo in the next few days, the first government official of an Arab state that severed diplomatic ties with Egypt three years ago to return to Egypt capital.

### End to U.S. Energy Department Asked

WASHINGTON — President Reagan formally proposed Monday dismantling the Energy Department, saying it has drained federal resources and impeded development of the nation's energy needs.

Making good on a campaign pledge, Mr. Reagan said his legislation, co-sponsored in Congress by Sen. William V. Roth Jr., Republican of Delaware, and Rep. Frank Horton, Republican of New York, would turn the agency's functions over to the departments of Commerce, Justice, Agriculture and Interior.

Presidential counselor Edwin Meese 3d said that more than 3,000 Energy Department employees will lose their jobs in the transfer. He said savings to the federal government were estimated at \$1 billion in 1983.

### Red Brigades Guerrilla Killed in Italy

PISA — The police on Monday shot and killed a Red Brigades guerrilla who had been among those convicted in absence of the kidnapping of Brig. Gen. James L. Dozier, the U.S. Army officer who was a former deputy NATO commander in Verona.

Umberto Catabiani, 32, considered one of the "brains" behind the Dozier kidnapping, died in a Pisa hospital, police said, after two shoot-outs with police and a chase through northwestern Italy.

Police said the chase started in the coastal town of Viareggio where Mr. Catabiani was first spotted walking down the street, and that he had exchanged gunfire with two pistols.

Compiled From Agency Dispatches



# 5 Ex-Treasury Chiefs Urge U.S. Budget, Deficit Be Cut

By James L. Rowe Jr.  
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — Five former Treasury secretaries have urged the president and Congress to slash defense and nondefense spending immediately to prevent high budget deficits from damaging the economy.

A combination of spending cuts, tax increases and a one-year freeze on Social Security, Medicare and federal retirement benefits could reduce the deficit to less than \$100 billion for the 1983 fiscal year and hold the 1985 deficit to less than \$75 billion, the bipartisan group said in a prepared statement.

**Deficits Would Grow**

Otherwise, the former officials said, deficits will continue to grow, and borrowing to finance them "would devour virtually every penny of household savings and would divert capital from productive investment at a record rate."

President Reagan spent Sunday morning telephoning House members to seek support for a budget package he prefers that is similar to the one passed by the Senate.

The budget package is sponsored by House Minority Leader Robert H. Michel, Republican of Illinois. The Senate budget resolution calls for a \$116-billion deficit for fiscal 1983, which begins Oct. 1.

**The Former Secretaries**

The former Treasury secretaries, who planned to issue their appeal at a news conference Monday, and their years in office are: W. Michael Blumenthal, 1977 to 1979; William E. Simon, 1974 to 1976; Henry B. Connolly, 1971 and 1972; John H. Fowler, 1965 to 1968; and C. Douglas Dillon, 1961 to 1963.

They were joined by Peter G. Peterson, secretary of commerce under President Richard M. Nixon and now chairman of the Wall Street investment firm, Lehman Brothers Kuhn Loeb Inc.

Their statement said that fairness is essential and criticized Mr. Reagan for concentrating spending cuts in programs "aimed at the poor," such as Medicaid, welfare, food stamps and legal assistance.

"It is now time for a wider sharing of burdens — for focusing fis-

cal reform on the major spending programs which confer benefits on middle- and upper-income groups," the six said. They did not specify any such programs in their statement, however.

In what they called a "program for immediate action," the former officials said Congress and the president should slow the growth in nondefense spending to reduce the deficit by \$60 billion in fiscal 1983, the federal spending year that begins Oct. 1, 1984.

"The best place to begin," they said, "is with a one-year freeze in benefits flowing from the large, broad-based entitlement programs — Social Security, Medicare, veterans' benefits, civil-service and military retirement, and other entitlement subsidies and payments."

**Fiscal 1985 Budget**

After the freeze, they said, some sort of cap should be placed on how much benefits could rise in future years.

They also called for defense spending that would total \$25 billion less than Mr. Reagan wants by 1985 and said that taxes should



William E. Simon

W. Michael Blumenthal

be increased by \$60 billion by 1985. They suggested new taxes on oil and natural-gas consumption and higher taxes on cigarettes and tobacco, as well as elimination of some corporate tax benefits.

They said that the measures, if undertaken now, would cut the fiscal 1985 deficit by about \$145 billion and lead to a further deficit reduction, through less borrowing and lower interest rates, of \$30 billion to \$55 billion.

The former secretaries said "runaway deficits" can never be contained if any portions of the budget are placed "out of

bounds." Mr. Reagan has asserted that Social Security benefits will not be changed and has been resistant to any reductions in his defense program.

Unless the deficits are reduced, they said, recovery from the recession will be "feeble and temporary," interest rates will remain "abnormally high," high unemployment will be chronic, and investment by businesses will remain low, resulting in little productivity growth that will depress living standards and decrease the nation's ability to compete in foreign markets.

# U.S. Reopens Probe of Cover-Up Of Suspected Nazi War Criminals

By Ralph Blumenthal  
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — The government, confronted with evidence that important files were tampered with, has reopened investigations into a possible cover-up involving suspected Nazi war criminals living in the United States.

The investigations are being conducted by the Justice Department and the General Accounting Office. They concern allegations of a conspiracy to protect former Nazis and collaborators who may have been smuggled into the United States by U.S. intelligence agencies for propaganda operations against the Russians during the 1950s.

Charges that the U.S. authorities mishandled investigations of war criminals date back at least 10 years, but the General Accounting Office concluded in 1978 that it could find no evidence of a conspiracy to impede the inquiries. Nearly 200 cases remain under investigation by a branch of the Justice Department, the Office of Special Investigations.

Congressional investigators are also reviewing new information provided by a former prosecutor in that office, including military documents containing reports of links between U.S. intelligence agencies and Nazis and their East European collaborators.

Episodes described in the documents and other information collected by the former prosecutor, John Loftus, include these cases:

- An Army officer working in intelligence after World War II acknowledged having allowed some Nazi collaborators to falsify their applications for U.S. visas in exchange for providing intelligence information.
- Some former Nazis entered the United States through lightly patrolled Canadian and Mexican border crossings, while others were routed through Argentina and other cooperative Latin American countries.
- Others arrived on cargo

planes, after being listed on the cargo documents as freight.

One collaborator accused of killings was identified and barred from emigrating to the United States on five separate occasions by U.S. counterintelligence agents. Yet with the help of other agents, he finally gained entry to the country.

On May 16, Mr. Loftus said on the CBS News program "60 Minutes" that hundreds of Nazi collaborators were brought into the country illegally after World War II to form an anti-Soviet spy army. Masterminding the efforts, he said, was a highly secret covert-operations agency close to the State Department called the Office of Policy Coordination.

Mr. Loftus, who has written a book about his findings, is now himself the subject of Justice Department inquiries into his disclosure of possibly confidential material, according to a department official. Mr. Loftus, who is now in private law practice in Boston, denied releasing any material not properly cleared by intelligence authorities.

"I just provided Congress records that they were supposed to get four years ago," he said.

In the reopened government investigations, the Justice Department announced last week that its criminal division was looking into the removal, apparently by the Defense Department, of intelligence information from at least two files in military archives.

The files were checked by the General Accounting Office, an investigative arm of Congress, as part of its conspiracy inquiry from

early 1977 to May, 1978. They dealt with two Belorussian immigrants who were under Justice Department investigation for atrocities in the Nazi-occupied region of western Russia. The two, Emmanuel Jaskin and Franz Kuchel, have since died.

**'Do Not Disclose'**

Mr. Loftus said he discovered the tampering a year later. The General Accounting Office later said it had never seen the material. Mr. Loftus also said he found a note in one of the files: "Do not disclose to GAO until notified to do so." The note was signed only "General Counsel," and the Justice Department investigation is aimed at learning where the directive originated.

Both the Justice and State departments denied last week that they had tried to impede any investigation.

"It looks like we were misled," said John Tipton, the General Accounting Office's senior evaluator, who also headed the investigation in 1978. The withholding of the material from him last time, he said, "would lead to the fact that there might be a conspiracy, yea."

Meanwhile, Alan Ryan Jr., director of the Office of Special Investigations, said his staff is investigating 197 people suspected of being war criminals to determine whether they lied about their past to gain entry to the United States or to win citizenship. A total of 548 cases had been investigated by the end of April, and charges have been brought against 26 people. Seven of the 26 are facing deportation and four have died. No one has yet been deported.

# Quandary for the Hinckley Jury: Was He Sick or Insane?

Studies Show Panels Consider Traditional Morality, Possible Punishment in Reaching Verdicts

By Laura A. Kieman  
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — On the morning of March 30, 1981, after a long cross-country bus trip to Washington, D.C., John W. Hinckley Jr. left his room at the Park Central Hotel, went to a McDonald's restaurant and a

fourth week, however, the jury will begin to hear testimony from prosecution experts who have probed just as deeply into Mr. Hinckley's state of mind and have arrived at sharply different conclusions. They will challenge the degree of Mr. Hinckley's mental illness. They will contend he could have abided by the law, but chose not to.

In the end, the jury of 12 ordinary people will be left with a set of contradictory opinions about a man who has been subjected to hundreds of hours of scrutiny by skilled specialists on the function — and secrets — of the human mind.

The jurors, through the testimony of three defense experts, already have heard the key questions that the law says could excuse Mr. Hinckley from criminal responsibility on the grounds of legal insanity: Did he suffer from a mental disease or defect last year when he wounded Mr. Reagan and three others? As a result of that mental disease or defect, was he unable to abide by the law, or unable to appreciate that his acts were wrong, or both?

So far in the trial, the defense experts have put varying, but equally severe, labels on the mental illness they testified they found in Mr. Hinckley. All the labels refer to deep depression and long-standing schizophrenia, an extreme break with reality in which the emotions dry up and the mind is dominated by delusions.

Yet, they say, the very nature of Mr. Hinckley's disease is such that he still could make his way through life. He could get good marks on college papers, he could rent apartments and make polite telephone calls, he could get mon-

ey from his parents, he could start his own mail-order business — and he also could go target shooting and make frenzied airplane trips around the country pursuing Miss Foster and stalking candidates for president.

**'Inner Mind' Raged**

Mr. Hinckley's rage was trapped in his "inner mind," they said. He was not "a madman dashing about looking like a monkey," said a defense psychiatrist, Dr. David Michael Bear.

Indeed, every day the jury sees a rather ordinary young man, wearing a crisp three-piece suit or a navy blue blazer, who shows none of the bizarre behavior that laymen might expect from a madman.

The only inappropriate thing Mr. Hinckley has done at the trial was to stalk out when he heard Miss Foster — the unattainable object of his fantasies — say she did not know him.

When the prosecution begins this week to counter Mr. Hinckley's insanity defense, the first witnesses will be not their psychiatric experts but the ordinary people who saw Mr. Hinckley around the time of the shooting, from the chambermaid at the Park Central to the police officers who booked him at headquarters.

**Commonsense Notions**

When the moment finally arrives for a verdict — still weeks away — the jurors will get only a bare-bones formula from the court to help them decide, deliberately leaving them to apply their commonsense notions about criminal responsibility to the framework of information provided by the psychiatric specialists.

Studies conducted in Washington have shown that jurors more often than not fail to understand instructions the court gives them in insanity cases and apply traditional ideas about knowing right from wrong that the courts abandoned long ago. Moreover, legal scholars believe that the ultimate question in the jury's mind when they sit down to decide Mr. Hinckley's case likely will be the consequences of their verdict.

At the close of the trial, it is expected that Judge Barrington D. Parker will tell the jurors that Mr. Hinckley will be confined to a

mental hospital automatically if they find him not guilty by reason of insanity. They also will be told, however, that if that happens there will be a hearing within 30 days to determine if Mr. Hinckley is entitled to release because he is no longer a danger to himself or others because of mental illness.

If they find him guilty, he most likely would be sentenced to prison.

That, when the experts are through, will be the question for the jury: Should Mr. Hinckley be in the hospital or in jail for what he did?

## NEWS ANALYSIS

Crown Books store, bought a copy of The Washington Star and read President Reagan's schedule for the day.

Back in his room, Mr. Hinckley took a shower, loaded a .22-caliber pistol with exploding bullets and wrote a letter to actress Jodie Foster, saying, "I just cannot wait any longer to impress you."

He put a John Lennon huton in his pocket and took a cab to the Washington Hilton Hotel, where he shot President Reagan, James S. Brady, the presidential press secretary, Timothy J. McCarthy, a Secret Service agent, and Thomas K. Delahanty, a District of Columbia police officer.

**Crazy or Just Sick?**

Depending on whom you believe, these were the acts of either a disturbed but coldly calculating assassin or an insane man finally driven out of control by bizarre and violent delusions. Was he crazy, or just sick?

Experts testifying on Mr. Hinckley's behalf have told the federal jury a chilling picture of a man consumed by severe mental illness, possessed by an "inner rage" and tormented by thoughts of murder and suicide as he pursued an eternal union with Miss Foster.

As the trial moves through its

second week, however, the jury will begin to hear testimony from prosecution experts who have probed just as deeply into Mr. Hinckley's state of mind and have arrived at sharply different conclusions. They will challenge the degree of Mr. Hinckley's mental illness. They will contend he could have abided by the law, but chose not to.

In the end, the jury of 12 ordinary people will be left with a set of contradictory opinions about a man who has been subjected to hundreds of hours of scrutiny by skilled specialists on the function — and secrets — of the human mind.

The jurors, through the testimony of three defense experts, already have heard the key questions that the law says could excuse Mr. Hinckley from criminal responsibility on the grounds of legal insanity: Did he suffer from a mental disease or defect last year when he wounded Mr. Reagan and three others? As a result of that mental disease or defect, was he unable to abide by the law, or unable to appreciate that his acts were wrong, or both?

So far in the trial, the defense experts have put varying, but equally severe, labels on the mental illness they testified they found in Mr. Hinckley. All the labels refer to deep depression and long-standing schizophrenia, an extreme break with reality in which the emotions dry up and the mind is dominated by delusions.

Yet, they say, the very nature of Mr. Hinckley's disease is such that he still could make his way through life. He could get good marks on college papers, he could rent apartments and make polite telephone calls, he could get mon-

ey from his parents, he could start his own mail-order business — and he also could go target shooting and make frenzied airplane trips around the country pursuing Miss Foster and stalking candidates for president.

**'Inner Mind' Raged**

Mr. Hinckley's rage was trapped in his "inner mind," they said. He was not "a madman dashing about looking like a monkey," said a defense psychiatrist, Dr. David Michael Bear.

Indeed, every day the jury sees a rather ordinary young man, wearing a crisp three-piece suit or a navy blue blazer, who shows none of the bizarre behavior that laymen might expect from a madman.

The only inappropriate thing Mr. Hinckley has done at the trial was to stalk out when he heard Miss Foster — the unattainable object of his fantasies — say she did not know him.

When the prosecution begins this week to counter Mr. Hinckley's insanity defense, the first witnesses will be not their psychiatric experts but the ordinary people who saw Mr. Hinckley around the time of the shooting, from the chambermaid at the Park Central to the police officers who booked him at headquarters.

**Commonsense Notions**

When the moment finally arrives for a verdict — still weeks away — the jurors will get only a bare-bones formula from the court to help them decide, deliberately leaving them to apply their commonsense notions about criminal responsibility to the framework of information provided by the psychiatric specialists.



# Shamir Warns of Sharp Response To Any PLO Attacks on Israelis

From Agency Dispatches

JERUSALEM — Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir told a senior U.S. diplomat Monday that Israel would react sharply to any Palestinian attack against Israeli or Israelis abroad.

The warning was conveyed to Morris Draper, a top State Department official in Middle East affairs, during a 90-minute meeting at the interpretation of a U.S.-arranged truce between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization.

The meeting with Mr. Draper came a day after Prime Minister Menachem Begin appealed to President Reagan to honor a commitment to Israel's security and not sell sophisticated U.S. weapons to Jordan.

Israeli officials quoted Mr. Shamir as saying that Israel would like to see a continuation of the cease-fire with the Palestinians in Lebanon but that "it depends on the behavior" of the PLO.

"If the terrorists continue to attack us and attempt further acts of terrorism on Israel from Lebanon or from any place, or in any place, we will not sit idle and we will be compelled to react," the officials quoted Mr. Shamir as saying.

Mr. Draper replied that it was clear from his talks in the Arab countries that Israel's position was "well understood," the Israelis reported.

**Collapse Threatened**

The cease-fire with the Lebanese-based guerrillas was arranged last July by the United States and has nearly collapsed several times. The most serious threat of collapse came this month when Israeli planes attacked Palestinian bases in Lebanon and guerrillas shelled Israeli border settlements.

The Israeli official reported a continuing discrepancy between the U.S. and Israeli views of the truce. U.S. officials see the agreement as applying only to actions originating from Lebanon against any Israeli border. The Israelis say that any attack on Israelis anywhere will be considered a provocation.

The PLO contends that the agreement gives it a free hand to operate against Israel except from across the Lebanese frontier.

The officials said Mr. Shamir urged the United States to try to bring Jordan, Saudi Arabia and other Arab countries into the Egyptian-Israeli peace process as the best method of building Middle East stability.

Mr. Begin said Sunday in a speech to European fund-raisers that Jordan would ultimately use the sophisticated U.S. weapons against Israel.

The prime minister said U.S. Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger's characterization of Jordan as "squeezed" between a hostile Syria and Iran — and in need of U.S. military hardware to deal with the threat — was "an attempt to mislead public opinion."

Meanwhile, in Beit Shemesh, a town 10 miles (16 kilometers) west of Jerusalem, experts dismantled a bomb found in the local shopping center, police said.

The action against Zaire follows similar moves by Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Libya and Bangladesh and a call by Iraq for oil-producing countries to consider halting aid to Kinshasa.

On May 15, Zaire became the first country to breach an African boycott of Israel imposed at the request of the Arabs after the 1973 Arab-Israeli war.

**Turk Assails Israel**

ISTANBUL (AP) — Turkey's head of state, Gen. Kenan Evren, on Monday accused Israel of taking an "aggressive attitude" and called for an Israeli withdrawal from Jerusalem.

Turkey is convinced that a just solution in the Middle East can only be achieved with the withdrawal of Israel from all occupied lands including Jerusalem, Gen. Evren said. "We deplore the intransigent and aggressive attitude of Israel."

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## Spanish Officer Ejected in Trial

Reuters

MADRID — The Civil Guard officer who stormed the Spanish parliament 15 months ago in an unsuccessful coup was expelled from the last day of his trial Monday.

Lt. Col. Antonio Tejero Molina, one of a group of 32 officers and one civilian on trial for their parts in the abortive coup last year, said in his final statement that he despised "a large part of the military leadership for their cowardice" and was ordered removed by the presiding judge.

The prosecutor has asked for maximum 30-year sentences for Col. Tejero, for Lt. Gen. Jaime Milans del Bosch, who ordered tanks into the streets of Valencia on the night of the coup attempt, and for Maj. Gen. Alfonso Armada Comyn, who was then deputy army chief of staff, and for lesser sentences for the others. The judges have until June 3 to hand down sentences.

## 2 Nations Cut Zaire Ties

ABU DHABI (Reuters) — The United Arab Emirates and Kuwait Monday severed diplomatic ties with Zaire because it has resumed relations with Israel, according to official statements.

Kuwait also broke off relations with Costa Rica for shifting its embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, the Kuwait Foreign Ministry statement said.

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# Year of Socialism Shows Up Paradoxes of French Politics

By Richard Eder  
New York Times Service

PARIS — In marking the first anniversary of President François Mitterrand's accession to power, France had a choice between two dates — May 10, when he was elected, and May 21, when he took office.

It was a choice, in a way, between the idea and the reality. Without much hesitation, both Mr. Mitterrand's supporters and his opponents — those who saw the occasion as a celebration and those who saw it as a wake — chose May 10 and the idea.

One year into what the headlines choose to call Socialist France (without the headlines it would be hard to recognize it as such) the French find it easier to summon up emotion about the idea than the reality. What has actually happened has fallen short of two opposite sets of expectations.

The Socialists, having spotted the new day, are still waiting for the sun actually to come up. Its opposition, having adopted Louis XV's notion of "Après moi, le déluge," is still waiting for rain.

The country as a whole remains largely indecipherable. A poll last week in the intransigently anti-government paper *Le Quotidien* found that, over the last month, the percentage of French tending to pessimism about the future rose from 71 percent to 77 percent. On

the other hand, the percentage of those expressing confidence in President Mitterrand rose from 56 percent to 64 percent.

The rosy perspective about the leadership extended to include Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy and his Cabinet. And it spilled over to the opposition leaders, who managed to increase their approval rating by four points as well.

Is it possible that the truest representative of the French spirit is Dr. Pangloss, after all? And yet people do not think things are getting better and better but worse and worse. Why then is this not reflected by a rejection of its political leaders?

In the United States this would be, at the least, a paradox. In France, it may be odd, but it has its explanations. One may have to do with historical memory.

**Achievements and Failures**  
Like other countries in Europe, France has seen too much of disaster to expect the good life to be, necessarily, its due. In the short run, at any rate, hardship or its prospect is not necessarily seen as the handiwork of a government that has botched the God-given right of the nation to be successful and happy.

At the time of Valéry Giscard d'Estaing's defeat last year and now again, during the anniversary meditations, a good deal of attention has been focused not so much on achievements and failures, as on the vaguer notion of congruence between a president and his people.

As far as the achievements and failures go, the material condition of France has not changed greatly. If unemployment is now 2 million instead of 1.6 million, the rate of increase has slowed. Inflation, at 14 percent, is roughly the same. The franc is weaker, on the other hand, there has been a very slight picking-up of business activity.

As for congruence, there was a great deal of talk before last year's election about the irritating effect of Mr. Giscard d'Estaing's style, authoritarian, vaguely self-indulgent, very distant and at the same time, very conspicuous. Mr. Mitterrand's manner, though self-assured and often aloof, at least looks more modest.

More important, unlike his predecessor, he does engage with those he talks to. There is a voracious curiosity under the diffidence and no quality is more appealing to the public or harder to fake. Of course, there is more to his approval rating than his personality.

The message of Mr. Giscard d'Estaing, after a quarter century

of the Gaullist legacy was: This has been good for you, will be good for you and in any case, is the way things are going to be. Mr.

## NEWS ANALYSIS

Mitterrand, on the other hand, offered a whole rainbow of change. While his program remains something of a rainbow, the French are still giving him credit for trying and for meaning what he says.

It is hard to predict the lasting effect of what has been done.

One of the most interesting questions, perhaps, is what changes will take place in the left and right as a result of the former's holding power and the latter's lacking it. Although some Socialist voices are as clamorous as ever, the party leadership has become cautious to the point of embarrassing itself. The evidence of the last year

does not indicate, as some have predicted, that continued economic difficulty will cause a radicalization of policies.

On the right, there are a number of tendencies. A few politicians seem bent on crying havoc. On the other hand, Jacques Chirac, who at the moment holds the most influence in the opposition, has made conciliatory gestures toward Mr. Mitterrand while strongly criticizing

him. Mr. Chirac — and Mr. Giscard d'Estaing, apparently, though he has not been active enough to allow a reading — seems determined to accept the change decided on by the voters and to make the system work.

It remains to be seen what the pressures of the coming years will do to the fund of tolerance, never particularly large in French politics, on both sides.

## Swedish Peace Institute Has Image Problem

### Questions Raised on Agency's Objectivity in Monitoring World Arms

By John Vinocur  
New York Times Service

STOCKHOLM — The last 12 months have been difficult ones for the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, an organization whose stated goal has been to provide independent analysis of armaments and the global balance of power.

The idea that the organization is objective has been undercut by the arrest and conviction of a staff member for illegally gathering intelligence in Norway and Sweden, by accusations from a former researcher that her work on Soviet military bases was censored by the institute's Czechoslovak consultant and by expressions of concern here that the institute is interested mainly in North Atlantic Treaty Organization activities and little else.

The institute, founded in 1966, is financed by the Swedish government. Its six-member board of governors is made up of a Swedish chairman and members from West Germany, Norway, Finland, East Germany and Yugoslavia.

The institute's director, Frank Blackaby, says its difficulties have created "a serious image problem." They come at a time when the institute has begun to play a growing role in the debate over the nuclear balance — in West Germany espe-

cially it is often cited by groups campaigning against nuclear weapons. It is also trying to reach a wider world audience with the publication next month of the first time of a paperback version of its yearbook of armament statistics and commentary.

From its inception, the institute has tried to assess weapon issues independently in an effort to give individuals and governments outside the main East-West blocs a nonaligned source of judgment. In the process, it has produced a number of widely praised studies.

But its critics say the institute is developing a one-sidedness in its approach.

In the 1981 yearbook, for instance, the first chapter, dealing with world military expenditure, says the United States makes "a cavalier use" of "essentially erroneous figures" for drawing comparisons with the Soviet Union. The same chapter touches on the East bloc with a single paragraph that says, "There is very little hard factual information about military matters in the public domain."

The 1982 yearbook will recommend that the Soviet Union and NATO resolve their dispute over intermediate-range nuclear missiles by having NATO agree to forego deployment of Pershing-2 or

Cruise missiles if the Soviet Union cuts its present total of SS-20s in half, Mr. Blackaby said in an interview.

This argument, as presented by Mr. Blackaby, disregards NATO's "zero solution" — no deployment of new Western missiles in exchange for a dismantling of all the SS-20s — and dismisses the Western contention that the modernized SS-20s increase the Russians' ability to exert political pressure on Western Europe.

"I suppose no one would have been giving the institute's makeup all that close a look if it hadn't been for the incidents," said Carl Bildt, member of the Swedish Parliament's Foreign Affairs Commission from the Moderate Party, a conservative group. "But they seem symptomatic of the institute's mood, what I say is its obsession with the details of Western weapons combined with its inability or unwillingness to see what's going on on the other side."

The situation led to a series of articles in Swedish newspapers involving Owen R. Wilkes, a New Zealander hired by the institute for a research project on military bases worldwide.

Last June Mr. Wilkes was given a six-month suspended sentence and a fine by a Norwegian court

for endangering Norwegian security. He had been arrested for gathering material on electronic surveillance installations there.

Two months later, as an employee of the Stockholm institute, Mr. Wilkes was arrested in Sweden on charges of illegally collecting information on Sweden's air defense network. He was subsequently given a six-month prison sentence by a Stockholm court and ordered expelled from Sweden. Both the Norwegian and Swedish convictions are under appeal.

Mr. Wilkes has given a number of interviews to the Swedish press. In one, the country's largest newspaper, *Expressen*, asked him if he was pro-Soviet. "No, I don't think so," he replied. "But I could think of myself as going along with the idea of being anti-American."

### Contract Not Renewed

Mr. Blackaby has said that the charges against Mr. Wilkes had nothing to do with his research at the institute. His contract was not renewed when it ran out in January.

Another unrenewed contract, involving Maria Lunderius, Mr. Wilkes's research assistant, has made for more problems. She said her work on Warsaw Pact bases had been halted essentially as a result of the efforts of a full-time consultant to the institute, Theodor Nemec, whom Mr. Blackaby described as a member of the Czechoslovak National Academy. Other newspaper accounts, including one appearing in the *Nene Zürcher Zeitung*, the leading Swiss daily, said Mr. Nemec was in regular contact in Stockholm with an employee at the Soviet Embassy.

Mr. Blackaby's reply was: "I don't care who Mr. Nemec has lunch with. The whole story is total rubbish. He's a singularly uninfluential person around here."

He acknowledged, however, that there was no set date for completion of the report on both Soviet and Western bases.

Mr. Blackaby defines the institute's operating philosophy as a "plague on both your houses. East and West."



President François Mitterrand was welcomed by a group of people, including a woman in a white blouse and a man in a suit, in Ivory Coast wearing a blouse with portraits of his wife, Danielle, and the country's president, Félix Houphouët-Boigny.

## Polish Primate Hears Ex-Prisoner's Thanks

By Henry Kamm  
New York Times Service

BIALYSTOK, Poland — The tall, gray-haired and bearded man stood erect as he addressed the Catholic primate of Poland seated on a throne before him in a church that was bursting with people, but his jaws trembled and his hands shook as he read the text he had composed.

Michał Pietkiewicz, the deputy chairman of the regional organization of the formerly free Solidarity trade union, had just been released from internment because of ill health, and he was making his first public speech Saturday since the days before the martial law was declared Dec. 13.

"In these very difficult months of this year's winter and spring, when we working people were deprived of what we had loved and wanted to serve with all our strength, we are listening with the greatest attention to the voice of the primate of Poland," said Mr. Pietkiewicz, an agricultural machinery technician, as Archbishop Józef Glemp of Warsaw listened earnestly and the large congregation strained to hear.

"This voice has unequivocally expressed itself on the side of the nation and demanded the rights that are due to this nation and speaks against all the evil acts and against all those who trample the rights of man," Mr. Pietkiewicz declared, his voice gaining strength.

### Solidarity Button

He wore a Solidarity button on the lapel of his dark suit, as did two younger men who accompanied him. He gave thanks to the primate, who had traveled here to celebrate Mass Saturday morning. He thanked the church for its help to those "most painfully afflicted" those in prison, in internment and expelled from their places of work.

Local sources reported that arrests had resumed here this month, after demonstrations May 1, 3 and 13, similar to those in other towns in Poland. About 100 have been arrested in consequence, many have been dismissed from their jobs and more detained for interrogation.

Until this month, people in this eastern town of 200,000 people took strolls down the main street at 7:30 in the evening to demonstrate their disbelief in the main television news program, which goes on at that hour. They have stopped now, the sources said, because fear of police action has risen.

The Catholic Church has been a mainstay for the Solidarity followers, the sources said. But the situation here is less favorable than in other cities because the proximity of the White Russian border has placed a substantial Russian Orthodox minority loyal to all regimes in this city, which was also.

until 1939, a major center of Jewish life.

Archbishop Glemp, who had not been due to speak because Archbishop Henryk Gulbinowicz of Włocławek preached the sermon, rose from his throne at the side of the altar after the blessing that ended the Mass and strode to the raised pulpit without notes, clearly not to let Mr. Pietkiewicz's words go unanswered.

"I do not know if at any time in our history we have been so strongly united and so strong in spirit as we are now, although we are living through a period of pain, conflict, failure and crisis," said the primate, who will be elevated as a cardinal at the next Vatican consistory and already wears a cardinal's red.

Archbishop Glemp could offer no other prescription but prayer. He cautioned against hunger strikes and young people who make their mothers suffer because they go out into the street when it is not certain they will return safely. The primate was clearly alluding to a hunger strike among interned leaders of Solidarity and recent demonstrations by youths.

"Love will overcome everything," he said.

The primate came to this town 125 miles northeast of Warsaw for the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the Vilna Seminary, which was moved here in 1939, after the Germans occupying Poland gave the disputed city to Lithuania. A year later, Lithuania was annexed by the Soviet Union, but feeling is strong in Poland that the city, called Vilnius here, Vilna in Russian and Vilnius in Lithuanian, remains Polish.

### Outspoken Sermon

In an unusually outspoken sermon on a subject considered of utmost delicacy in Poland, Archbishop Gulbinowicz emphasized the Western rather than Russian character of Vilnius.

He called the city and its ancient seminary a center of Western European knowledge and "a bastion of Latin culture that until this day bravely repulses all powers of darkness."

Without mentioning its annexation by the Soviet Union and placing the city entirely in the course of Polish history, the primate said the seminary had always taught its students to be close to the people and they had done so, going together with their people into the taiga of Siberia and "the concentration camps of Nazi Germany and the Stalinist camps."

Much of Bialystok was in and around church Saturday, but the primate's coming also showed how much of normal life has returned after nearly six months of martial law. Ice cream lines were long, and the main café, situated in what was once the ghetto, offered not much more free space than did the church.

## Manila Urges Sanctions Against South Africa

Reuters

MANILA — Foreign Minister Carlos Romulo called Monday for comprehensive global sanctions against South Africa to force a change in its racial segregation laws.

"Global sanctions must be imposed on a comprehensive and mandatory basis because there is no other way in which South Africa can be brought to its senses," Mr. Romulo said at the start of a three-day Asian regional conference on apartheid in Manila.

He told delegates that South Africa "has resisted friendly persuasion, brushed aside admonitions, and blatantly ignored condemnations by the United Nations."

The foreign minister said hope for peaceful change in South Africa was illusory because "successive Pretoria governments have created new and more oppressive institutions in order to solidify the system of apartheid."

"South Africa is bound to open

yet another theater of conflict which could involve the entire world by further strengthening the very structure of apartheid which we seek to dismantle," he said.

### Obstacles for Blacks

GENEVA (AP) — South Africa's black workers continue to face flagrant inequalities compared to whites, the head of the International Labor Organization said in a report about a recent increase in strikes by blacks.

The report, by the director-general, Francis Blanchard, said that government control over unions offends legislation passed last year giving blacks the right to join unions of their choice.

Only whites had access to some fields of employment, the report said, and training programs for blacks continued to lag far behind those for whites. In 1980, the government spent about eight times more to educate a white child than it did for a black child, the report added.

## China, in Explaining Imprisonment Of Journalist, Defines State Secrets

By Christopher S. Wren  
New York Times Service

PEKING — The Chinese government has cited the sensitive subject of state secrets in explaining the prison term imposed on a newspaper editor here who leaked details of a Communist Party session last summer to a foreign journalist.

Li Guoqiang, who was editor of the biweekly China Finance and Trade Journal, was convicted in February of "betraying state secrets" to a foreigner and was sentenced to five years in prison. The foreigner was not named, but two sources here said they understood that he was a Japanese journalist.

Mr. Li's crimes were said to include disclosing the time, place and agenda of the last full party session at which Hua Guofeng was removed as chairman and replaced by Hu Yaobang.

Mr. Li, 64, was also charged with revealing the contents of documents submitted at the session. These would have included a critical assessment of Mao that was afterward promulgated as party doctrine.

The People's Daily, the party newspaper, reported the case after Mr. Li's appeal was rejected in late March. The newspaper also warned that spies were at work in Peking's foreign community. It said that those Chinese who did not learn from Mr. Li's experience "themselves might possibly embark upon the criminal path."

Some foreign journalists and diplomats here saw the cautionary

punishment of Mr. Li as a new round in the government's efforts to stop Chinese from talking to the West. The tactic seemed to work as more than a few Chinese officials began avoiding phone calls and dodging lunch invitations or requests for chats.

Still, the publicity has been awkward enough that Peking Review, a weekly magazine that the government circulates abroad in five languages, devoted a full page in its latest issue to explaining why the editor was imprisoned. In the process, it offered what may be the most candid definition yet given outsiders of what constitutes a state secret in China.

The article, after reminding readers that the Communist Party was China's ruling political party, said, "Before they are made public, all of the party's private activities are state secrets."

Mr. Li was convicted under Article 186 of China's 1980 criminal code. It says that "any state functionary who betrays an important secret of the state in violation of state security regulations, to a serious degree, shall be sentenced to imprisonment for not more than

seven years, or to detention, or to deprivation of political rights."

While Peking Review insisted that Mr. Li was not punished for talking to foreigners, the article followed a recent circular that has been read to Chinese at their compulsory political study sessions cautioning them against fraternizing with "foreign guests."

In March, Wang Renzhong, who was replaced recently as director of the party's propaganda department, charged that some foreigners living in China were spies. Mr. Wang, writing in the ideological journal *Red Flag*, said that not all foreigners were trying to subvert China but added that "it would be naive to believe that some of those who have sneaked in are not spies."

State secrets range from obvious taboos like military matters to unpublished agricultural statistics or regional disasters.

Publications such as *People's Liberation Army Daily* and a few economic journals are prohibited reading for foreigners. State secrets seem to include just about anything that the government and party choose not to announce.

## Jakarta Officials Deny Rejecting U.S. Envoy

United Press International

JAKARTA, Indonesia — Indonesian Foreign Ministry denied Monday that it had rejected the appointment of Morton I. Abramowitz as U.S. ambassador to Jakarta.

"The American government has submitted a name for approval," a Foreign Ministry spokesman said. "We were considering the application. That is normal procedure. It seems that now the American government will submit another name."

Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr. said in Washington Thursday, "I do regret to state that the government of Indonesia did not act on our request for agreement" to the appointment of Mr. Abramowitz.

Mr. Abramowitz, 49, a senior diplomat whose last post was ambassador in Bangkok, was nominated to replace Ambassador Edward E. Martin, who left six months ago. Mr. Abramowitz is regarded by many officials in South-east Asia as highly knowledgeable on regional matters.

Indonesian officials strongly denied that the government, which received the nomination nearly five months ago, delayed action on Mr. Abramowitz's appointment because he is Jewish. Indonesia is predominantly Moslem.

But the government-controlled news agency Antara carried a story Saturday with the headline, "Indonesia rejects U.S. Jewish diplomat."



Morton I. Abramowitz

The story did not mention his religion.

In private, some Indonesian officials suggested the withdrawal of Mr. Abramowitz's name reflected more opposition to the nomination in Washington than in Jakarta. "He is known to be a liberal and quite outspoken," an Indonesian official said. "He must not have only friends in Washington and it is convenient to blame Jakarta in this case."

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## ARTS/LEISURE

## Mining a Trove of Unknown Chaplin Film

By Nancy Mills

International Herald Tribune

LONDON — It is a rare piece of silent film. The actor playing the professor looks vaguely familiar, but the moustache is full and drooping. He is wearing a top hat and long coat instead of a bowler and a tiny jacket.

But the antics are pure Charlie Chaplin. The impetuous professor is spinning the night in a flop-house. The floor is polished. They will stay in their box. Soon the man in the next bed starts scratching.

Prof. Chaplin notices. He leaps out of bed, counts the varnishes, looks through his neighbor's head, finds one and puts it back in the box. Chaplin returns to bed, accidentally kicking over the box. Immediately everyone in the room starts scratching.

Again the professor jumps up. This time he takes out his whip and orders the fleas to come back. All but one obey. The disobedient flea receives a lecture, then meekly returns home.

There is peace now — until a dog wanders by. It sticks its nose into the box and immediately runs off, scratching madly. In due course, the professor notices his flea box is empty and chases after the dog. Curtain.

Film Never Released

"The Professor" is a two-reel film that has languished in Charlie Chaplin's British film vault for more than 60 years. It was never released, and its existence was unknown until film historian Kevin Brownlow and producer David Gill of Thames Television uncovered a mother lode of Chaplin material several years ago. The films are now being put together in a documentary, "The Unknown Chaplin," to be aired in Britain and the United States next year.

Film historians are like detectives. They search out long-forgotten bits of celluloid and are delighted when they can find even a few feet. The Chaplin vault is a bonanza.

"When we started looking," said Brownlow, the author of "The Parade's Gone By," about the silent film era, "we had heard that Chaplin had destroyed everything." He added: "Two-thirds of all silent films have been lost by carelessness, deliberate destruction or chemical decomposition. I've been told there was a California tax on film negatives stored by companies. The tax was so high it was as much as the budget of the film. So, as for keeping out-takes, they didn't. I understand takes of silents were dumped in the sea at San Pedro. The water is pretty deep there."

The 43-year-old Brownlow is not a man easily discouraged. Largely because of his tenacity, plus money from director Francis Ford Coppola, Abel Gance's 1926 silent classic "Napoleon" was recently almost restored to its original length.

Missing 8,000 Feet

"I saw two reels of 'Napoleon' back in 1954," Brownlow said. "At that time there was a 15,000-foot version. Crucial scenes and the titles were missing, but it was being billed as the definitive 'Napoleon.'" Brownlow spent years tracking down and reconstituting most of the missing 8,000 feet.

Locating Charlie Chaplin film was a different kind of challenge. Six years ago, Brownlow joined Gill of Thames Television to make a 12-part documentary entitled "Hollywood." One of the episodes was to be devoted to four great silent comedians: Charlie Chaplin, Harry Langdon, Harold Lloyd and Buster Keaton.

"One of the problems we were faced with," Gill recalled recently, "was getting Chaplin material. All of his later films were tied under copyright license, which prevented us from having access to them. We'd heard so many times how paranoid Chaplin was about people stealing his ideas and gags. We'd been told he burned everything after production. In desperation we finally wrote to



Chaplin in 1918.

Chaplin himself and his business manager, Rachel Ford. "She took pity on us and said she'd do what she could to help. She thought she could make snippets available to us when she was out in London and could get to the Chaplin vault, where all the material was held."

The men did not expect much. "For our 'Hollywood' series, Miss Ford allowed us access to sequences that recorded visitors to Chaplin's studio," Brownlow said. "By then we realized there was considerably more material there, but we weren't allowed to use it. 'When the 'Hollywood' series was over and Chaplin had died in 1977, we approached Miss Ford and suggested doing a program on how Chaplin had worked. Lady Chaplin liked what we'd done on 'Hollywood' and gave us her blessing, plus all the support we could wish for."

Brownlow and Gill set up a co-partnership arrangement with Lady Chaplin that gave them exclusive use of all the unpublished

material in the vault for five years. It will form the basis of their documentary "The Unknown Chaplin."

The men have not yet made public a vault inventory, but they say that there is "lots of private footage plus sequences and out-takes of Chaplin's feature films up until about 1930. Chaplin did retain the film he owned — from the days when he had his own studio — and Lady Chaplin has had it preserved on safety film stock."

"Chaplin was a shrewd businessman, but in making his films he lavished his time and film stock. Through the material we found in the vault we'll be able to show him working his ideas out in front of a camera. We found variations of familiar scenes plus entirely new scenes and different characters."

"There's virtually no one around now to talk about those days, but luckily Chaplin worked it all out and rehearsed on camera. We discovered stuff he threw away that others would have died to do. We have an eight-minute sequence from 'City Lights' that is exquisite. Chaplin took it out because it was too long and it unbalanced the movie. We've also found pieces of film that totally bewilder us — like the two-reel 'Professor.' When was it shot? And why? Was this the original idea for 'The Circus'?"

Brownlow and Gill showed "The Professor" at the Telluride (Colo.) Film Festival last September, hoping to spark someone's memory. They would like to find people who could shed light on that film and on other finds in the vault.

"We want to talk to anyone who worked at Mutual Studios or Chaplin's own studio in any kind of job before 1930," Gill said. "A big problem is that most of the technicians were older than Chaplin, so we're looking for the junior technicians. We want to hear about the ordinary incidents, the routine of the day, what their job was, filming they saw, anything that might be of use."

## The Horowitz Piano Experience

By Henry Pleasants

International Herald Tribune

LONDON — Vladimir Horowitz's first European appearance in slightly more than 30 years took one back more than a mere three decades.

His appearance last Saturday afternoon at the Royal Festival Hall, in a benefit for the Royal Opera House, displayed the piano playing of a bygone age, the age of Paderewski, Rachmaninoff, Hofmann, Moisewitsch and Cortot, an age when performer and composer were on more or less equal and familiar terms, when the composer welcomed the performer as a creative collaborator, and when a pianist superstar traveled, as Horowitz does, with his piano, his tuner, his valet and his cook.

Compared with the playing of even Arthur Schnitke, who at 95 is Horowitz's senior by 18 years, Horowitz's playing strikes one as conspicuously old-fashioned, and that is precisely what makes it so memorable, an appreciation not shared, to be sure, by many younger critics who, while admiring the pianist, look askance at what they regard as the eccentricity.

The most distinctive aspect of

Horowitz's playing now is, curiously, not its technical brilliance, although that remains undiminished, but its intimacy — or is it privacy? — and its delicacy. There he was alone at the piano in the center of an enormous bare stage, before an enormous audience — including Prince Charles and Diana, Princess of Wales — that had paid up to nearly \$100 for a ticket, with television cameras pointed at him from a variety of angles, and he still somehow projected the impression of a man playing for a few friends at home — or even playing for himself.

Provocative Contrast

This sense of intimacy is, of course, essentially a reflection of the artist's sense of intimacy with the composers. It is an intimacy that permits familiarity and encourages the taking of liberties. It also provides a provocative contrast to a now fashionable concept of the performer-composer relationship that often seems to have the performer taking the composer's dictation from the printed page.

The program lent itself to this

familiar, even introverted approach, especially in Schumann's "Scenes From Childhood," Chopin's Ballade in G minor and, most obviously, Rachmaninoff's Sonata No. 2 in B flat minor, Opus 36, in a late revision in which the composer had Horowitz as collaborator. It even worked, surprisingly, in the opening six sonatas by Scarlatti.

This was out, to be sure, the Scarlatti of today's harpsichordists-musicalologists. Horowitz's use of the Scarlatti, long since superseded by Ralph Kirkpatrick's, suggested a blissful ignorance of what they have been up to in recent and not so recent years. This Scarlatti was rather an 18th-century keyboard miniaturist and innovator seen through Russian Romantic eyes and played with compelling affection and delicacy, on a 20th-century Grand piano.

There were standing ovations and, of course, encores, as there doubtless will be again this coming Saturday when Horowitz plays a second and final program, also in the Royal Festival Hall, and again at the odd hour — Horowitz's choice — of 4:30 p.m.

## Superb Rendering Of 'Lady Macbeth' At Spoleto U.S.A.

By Joseph McLellan

Washington Post Service

CHARLESTON, S.C. — "This is so boring I could kill myself," sings the heroine in the first act of Shostakovich's "Lady Macbeth of the Mtsensk District." She scores 50 percent for accuracy, which is a bit above the norm for factual content in soprano arias. Before the opera is over, she kills not only herself but her husband, her father-in-law and a rival for the affections of her paramour.

But you should ignore the part about boredom, at least in relation to the opera's impact. Life may have been boring for Katerina Ismailova (at least until she began her life of crime), but the opera made from her story is anything but boring. In a superb new production and translation, unveiled on Saturday night at Gian Carlo Menotti's Spoleto Festival U.S.A. in Charleston, S.C., it was clearly recognizable as one of the great operas of the 20th century.

Menotti has spared no effort to make the only operatic attraction at this year's festival a production fully worthy of the work. The new English translation by Edward Dowdes, commissioned for this production, was still being revised in the late stages of rehearsal and may be revised more before it is produced again. But at this point it is already lucid, singable and often eloquent — and the cast of young American singers makes about 90 percent of the words intelligible, which is the final justification of opera in English.

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## 'Britannia Hospital' Is a Standout at Cannes

By Thomas Quinn Curtiss

International Herald Tribune

CANNES, France — "The absurdities of human behavior are too dangerous to permit the luxury of sentimentalism or tears," remarks Lindsay Anderson in explaining the approach of his new film, "Britannia Hospital," in competition at Cannes.

A dizzying, lurid cartoon of the happenings in a London clinic where most of the staff has gone on strike, it jumps the fine line between corrosive satire and outright burlesque. Its slapstick moments bring back the days of the silent era, but the stark, staid message of its ironic conclusion misses the mark. With Swiftian fury it opens fire on the current waves of English life: the implacable social barriers, the titanic hunt for leftist Labor leaders, the ferocious protest demonstrations organized by scarcely true-blue Britons, the dubious marvels of medical progress, the imbedding snobbery of the establishment, the sloppiness of conduct, the decay of discipline and the desperate strivings of the same few to maintain order on the wobbling ship of state.

Leonard Rossiter as the shrewd hospital administrator and Graham Crowden as the supercilious research professor merit acting laurels. Although splintering with red-faced indignation that weakens its argument, the film is the most original and entertaining motion picture contesting.

"Hammett" by Wim Wenders

## Nostalgia Track: 9 Days for \$2,300

The Associated Press

LOS ANGELES — A nostalgic nine-day railroad trip from New York arrived 40 minutes early after a leisurely going through the South for 29 passengers who paid \$2,300 each for tickets.

In special antique cars refurbished to recapture the opulence of rail travel in bygone days, passengers slept on fresh white linens in private compartments with their own showers. Movies, bingo, card games and musical entertainment helped them while away the miles.

Guests drank and dined as much as they liked, calling on 24-hour room service or visiting the wood-paneled "Sutherland Falls" dining car or the upper level of the "Silver Crescent" domed car that once ran with the California Zephyr.

hints by its title and its publicity at a biography of the late detective author, but instead it incorporates him in a silly, B-picture pastiche of his fiction.

Werner Herzog's "Fitzcarraldo" has a curious premise, presenting an enlightened eccentric who wants to build opera houses in the Brazilian jungles in 1902 so that Caruso can sing to the Indians. To finance this unlikely scheme, he undertakes an Amazon journey aboard a steamship that is transported over a mountain with the aid of the obliging natives, first suspected of being hostile, to gain possession of an unclaimed rubber-growing region. The protagonist, played by Klaus Kinski, is far more interesting than the interminable handling of the ship over muddy land, but the accent is on the engineering feat rather than on the man.

Let Jean-Luc Godard sum up the theme of his new film, "Faisla," an entry in the Cannes competition: "Two shepherds long for reality," he writes. "Only a dog is needed for them to make circles around everybody. Once the dog is found, the pleasure of barking and the sadness of being at bay are still missing." More barking and less recording of irritating noises — the clatter of a movie studio in the "artwork" manner of Cecil B. De Mille. In the more intelligible sequences one learns that the dramatic personae are much concerned about the state of Poland, and at the end they drive off apparently to enlist in the Solidarity union movement.

Micelangelo Antonioni's "Identification of a Woman" has the air of being an anthology of the director's previous works: the lost-in-the-fog scene from "L'Avventura," the blazing sun from "Red Desert" and the enigmatic pause and mysterious eroticism of the others. The script as usual is as hollow as a rain barrel and the secrets of its strange romance remain veiled. Antonioni has a mastery of cinematic technique, an individual style, but he is in need of an author. His investigations of

feminine psychology would have been arresting if they had been focused on a woman drawn by Kleist, for example. As it is, he operates in a vacuum.

Jerry Skolimowski's "Moonlighting" is of more substance, telling of a band of Polish workers sent to labor in London where they can earn in a month more than they can in Warsaw in a year. Its action takes place in December, 1981, when martial law was declared in Poland.

"The Night of San Lorenzo" by the Italian brothers Taviani, is a lengthy, detailed but uninspired account of a colony of Tuscan peasants who in the summer of 1944 disobey German orders to remain in their territory and set out to seek liberation from Nazi tyranny. Its comic touches are limited to a little girl who cooly crosses her eyes. I was greeted with applause of claqué proportions at its premiere projection.

There was appreciative applause, although less enthusiastically sustained, for Costa-Gavras' "Missing," a tale of an American youth lost in the overthrow of the Allende regime in Chile and of his wife's and his parents' quest to find him.

"Shoot the Moon" by Alan Parker, a mawkish soap opera with Albert Finney and Diane Keaton as an out-of-love married couple, was the recipient of some booing. Only star names could have gotten it into the festival for serious consideration.

"Smithereens," the first feature by the American Susan Seidelman, in which a country girl tries her luck in the New York world of rock clubs and teen-idol lofts, offers nothing new, and it seems an imitation of Shirley Clarke's work of the 1960s.

Of somewhat similar background is the enormously superior "Forty Days" by Paul Morrissey, a gruesome glimpse of Manhattan's sinister underside where adolescent male prostitutes become involved in the case of one of their tribe who has died from an overdose of drugs. Morrissey, an inventive director, broadens the bleak routine in which most of the drama transpires by the use of a divided screen, and there is a powerful characterization by Mark Keyrouz as a fast-spoken hustler and another by Orson Bean as a prospective client.

On the lighter side, its title notwithstanding, is "The Last Horror Film," shot in Cannes during the 1981 festival by David Winters, a spoof of the hair-raising with the local hotels as the scenes of its



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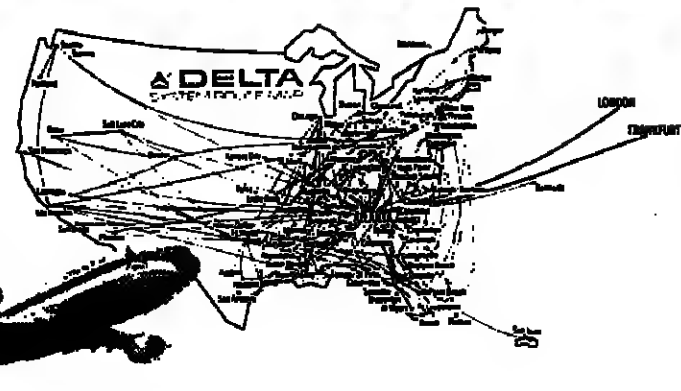
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# Herald Tribune

Published With The New York Times and The Washington Post

## Le 'International'

It was 15 years ago last weekend that this newspaper appeared for the first time under the name "International Herald Tribune." Before that it was known as the European edition of the New York Herald Tribune — and earlier still (since our founding in 1887) as the New York Herald's European edition. To this day we are still "Le New York" to many of our Paris neighbors.

When the New York parent newspaper closed in 1967, however, its publisher, John Hay Whitney, began looking for ways to ensure both the survival and the continuing distinction of the Paris offspring. To this end, he invited first The Washington Post and then The New York Times to join him in its ownership. The Times merged its own international edition into the newly named newspaper, and the new nameplate made its first appearance on May 22, 1967.

Art Buchwald, who began his writing career with this paper in the 1950s, wondered aloud about the new nomenclature. "By the time you've finished pronouncing it, you've missed your plane," he announced. Nonetheless, the name stuck — usually shortened to "the Trib" or "the IHT" — and it soon came to signal a very new era in the life of the paper. For, increasingly, it was the new Trib's internationality that made it unique: the internationality of its news coverage and its editorial outlook, of its printing and distribution network, and above all, the internationality of its readership.

In 1967, the Trib sold about 60,000 copies a day, most of them to overseas Americans, virtually all in Western Europe with a very high proportion in France. Today most of our readers are not Americans, and no more

than 14 percent of them live in any one country. A growing network of satellite printing sites allows the IHT to reach a global audience of more than one-third of a million readers who buy almost 150,000 copies a day in 143 countries.

The same international identity that was proclaimed in our new nameplate 15 years ago has been underscored in yet another way during the past week with the introduction of a new box at the top of Page 1 identifying the IHT as "The Global Newspaper, Edited in Paris, Printed Simultaneously in Paris, London, Zurich and Hong Kong." We hope it will help new readers understand more quickly and precisely just what we are and where we come from.

The box is one of several small changes that have recently been made in our graphic appearance, all of them designed to help achieve a more contemporary look while still honoring the traditional elements that have long been part of our identity.

As we think of our traditions on this anniversary, one figure that looms especially large in our memories is that of Jock Whitney, the man whose devotion to the future of this paper led to the 1967 merger, and who served as its chairman until his death in February. "I bought the Herald Tribune," Mr. Whitney once said, "because I believe deeply in the value of articulate, intelligent discussion in our world. I wanted it to be what I always thought it was, a lively companion to a wide circle of friends."

No words could better express our continuing hopes for this newspaper as we mark this anniversary.

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE

## A U.S. Tilt to Iran?

The dispute that currently troubles the Middle East most is the one between Iraq and Iran. Iraq invaded 20 months ago, but the Iranian Army and Revolutionary Guards have together virtually liberated its territory. The pressing question now, for the nearby states of the Gulf as for Iraq, is whether the Iranians will keep going when they hit the Iraqi border. Iran is leaving the question open, at least for a while.

The Gulf Arabs would be in a considerably better position to sound the alarm had they not largely accepted Iraq's invasion. At the time, the United States also found reason to lower its voice. It felt, and many agreed, that Iraq's incursion would help loosen Iran's grip on the American hostages, as it did. But now the situation is transformed by the spectacle of a powerful, avenging Iran conducting a foreign policy of shah-like dimensions and carrying a doctrine of revolutionary Islam into the ethnically and socially unstable Gulf. To see Iraq's dictator, Saddam Hussein, humbled will not cost many Gulf Arabs sleep. To see Iran's dictator, Ayatollah Khomeini, on the march, will.

The United States has sat tight in this war, making (to Iraq's satisfaction) no distinction between aggressor and victim and hoping that a measure of stability would be restored

by other hands. But now that Iran's forces are so close to the border, Washington is coming under increasing Arab pressure to abandon its stated policy of not taking sides. Egypt, for one, seeing a good post-Sinai opportunity to embrace an Arab cause, would like to pass on U.S. arms to the faltering Iraqis, the more so since Israel (in silent partnership with Egypt's current Arab arch-rival, Syria) is helping to arm Iran. Otherwise, it is argued, the Soviet Union, with arms ties to both sides, may emerge as an arbiter of power in the Gulf.

The United States has solid long-term reason to pursue good relations with Iran as well as with the Gulf Arabs. Getting a policy handle on the war, however, has turned out to be tricky. Earlier, the administration made a dubious gesture of favor for Iraq, still a center of international terrorism, by striking it from the official U.S. list of international terrorists so that Iraq could buy civilian airplanes. More recently, it has started buying Iranian oil for its strategic reserve — an action that is depicted in Washington as strategically neutral but that is seen in the Gulf area as an untimely tilt. Surely there are more effective ways to express U.S. support for the integrity of both countries.

THE WASHINGTON POST

## The Folly of Binaries

The Reagan administration's plan to manufacture a new type of nerve gas shell is a certain recipe for military debacle, diplomatic humiliation and strategic risk. The Senate, which had a chance to delete the necessary funds, failed to save the administration from its folly by the narrowest of votes.

The new weapons, called binaries, are artillery shells in which two chemicals are mixed during flight to produce nerve gas. The gas is no different from that in the ample existing stockpile of U.S. nerve gas munitions. So why build new ones?

Binary weapons have one advantage, which is not even military: They are less likely to cause an accidental release. But existing shells have an excellent safety record in storage and transport. The Defense Department has contended that they are deteriorating. They are not. Nor are they obsolescent, as has been claimed.

Binary shells have the substantial drawback that their components have to be assembled on the battlefield, a task that takes several minutes. They are far bulkier, meaning fewer could be airlifted to Europe in a crisis. They have not even been field-tested, because of congressional restrictions.

Chemical weapons are ineffective against properly protected troops. Their only mili-

tary purpose is to force the enemy into protective clothing, thus slowing him up. Civilians, however, are at particular risk.

That is why the West Germans will probably forbid binaries to be deployed on their territory. Indeed, the political storm might well prompt demands for the United States to remove its existing nerve gas stockpiles, which would leave none in Europe for swift response to a Soviet attack.

There is no evidence that the Russians have significantly improved or added to their arsenal of chemical weapons. For the United States to build binaries would risk sparking off a new arms race in a particularly abhorrent field of warfare, for no strategic gain.

The Senate narrowly defeated, 49 to 45, an amendment to delete funds for binaries. But it then accepted, 92 to 0, an amendment that requires that one nonbinary chemical shell be destroyed for every binary round made, thus capping the size of the stockpile, and that no binaries be made for NATO allies except at their specific request.

If the latter amendment succeeds in signaling that the United States intends no expansion of its chemical stockpile, it may undo some of the damage of the Reagan administration's plan.

THE NEW YORK TIMES

## Other Opinion

### The Falklands: A Textbook Example

The 1982 Falklands affair will go down in history certainly as an aggression by the Argentines, but also as a textbook example of what can occur when nations refuse to foresee and act upon the manifest dangers posed by a historical anomaly. Retaining the Falk-

lands will need a military, administrative and financial effort totally out of proportion with British needs and interests. Yet now that the islands have been illegally invaded by Argentina and peaceful attempts to right the wrong have failed, we must liberate and hold them, at least for some time.

— From The Sunday Times (London).

## May 25: From Our Pages of 75 and 50 Years Ago

### 1907: Glimpse Into Czar's Mind

PARIS — An editorial in the Herald comments: "There is a ring of pathos about the few words that the czar has just addressed to his people. Replying to congratulations from the Council of the Empire on the failure of the recent conspiracy against him, the emperor says, in the fewest possible words, that he regards his own life as of little value in comparison with the prosperity of the nation over which it is his destiny to rule. Coming from a monarch whose grandfather perished at the hands of an assassin, and whose own existence depends on the constant vigilance of his guards, these words give a rare glimpse into the mind of the autocrat whose place very few men would care to take."

### 1932: Hitlerite Legislators Seated

BERLIN — Hours before the opening of the new Prussian Diet, elected a month ago, the police threw a cordon around the neighborhood, where crowds lined the streets, eager to witness the birth of the new parliament. Especial interest was evinced in the appearance of the 162 Hitlerite deputies, among whom was the former kaiser's son, Prince August Wilhelm, who starts his parliamentary career. The expectations of the crowds swarming the palace were fulfilled as the senior member, Gen. Karl Litzmann, a Hitlerite, took the chair as president. All of the Nazi deputies leapt to their feet and shouted "Hail," raising their arms in a Fascist salute, which Litzmann returned.

## The Bomb Has Killed Sense of Citizen Duty

By A. Lawrence Chickering

SAN FRANCISCO — In all of the recent talk about the dangers of nuclear war, almost no attention has been given to problems related to nuclear peace. Even in peace, nuclear weapons may pose a serious threat to democratic institutions — a threat very different, indeed exactly opposite, from that associated with war.

If nuclear weapons make the world too dangerous, they also make it too safe. They have destroyed a fundamental — perhaps the fundamental — sense of citizen obligation to country and have greatly weakened citizen commitment to the national community, including the commitment to provide for the national defense.

These effects become clear from considering the two fundamental ways in which the threat of the bomb has changed any major war immeasurably, and has thereby changed not only the way we think about war, but also the way citizens think about the need to sacrifice for the common defense.

### Unthinkable

The first change is that the bomb has made "unlimited war" unthinkable — not only nuclear war, but more important, wars limited in the World War II sense. Because of the bomb, all future wars must be "limited." And necessarily in resources needed to wage them, but in Sorel's sense of a social myth, in public perception. Future wars cannot press on to "victory," as in Korea and Vietnam; they will not be wars at all, but "nonwars," simply undeclared (as in Vietnam) or declared to be only "police actions" (Korea).

The concern to localize, to avoid direct confrontation and possible escalation, rightly guarantees continuing Madison Avenue involvement to preserve the nonchalance of all future wars. While opportunities to fight and die exist as before, future nonwars will permit none of the supporting symbolism associated with patriotism and sacrifice for country. Without a draft or universal service, future wars will be fought by "others." In all future conflicts, as in Vietnam, we will insist on having both guns and butter. Without butter, the myth of the nonwar becomes untenable.

The bomb, which is the ultimate weapon, has changed war in another way by eliminating the credibility of external threats. So long as we have the ultimate weapon, the reasoning goes, no conflict is possible. Most Americans thus believe that in an important sense the bomb has made national defense obsolete. The attitude is: What can they do to us? How much "overkill" do we need? This, of course, is the language of opposition to the "arms race," and its truth or falsity does not affect its existential significance.

The writer is executive director of the Institute for Contemporary Studies in San Francisco. He contributed this column to The Washington Post.

## Conservative Poetry And the National Idea

By George F. Will

WASHINGTON — When a college recruits a hotshot football coach or a kid who can get his elbow over a basketball rim, that's news. No one notices when Samuel H. Beer, after a distinguished career at Harvard, becomes Boston College's first O'Neill Professor of Government.

That's O'Neill, as in House Speaker Thomas P. (Tip) O'Neill. Tip O'Neill's name has never before been associated with thinking as clear as that of Prof. Beer offered in his inaugural lecture, "The National Idea in American Politics." Beer takes elegant exception to this assertion in President Reagan's inaugural address: "The federal government did not create the states; the states created the federal government."

That proposition was central to the secessionists' argument before the Civil War. Abraham Lincoln argued that the Union created the states as states and produced whatever independence and liberty they have. But what was at issue then was primarily a theory of authority. Today, the issue is a theory of power: a guide to the ends for which power should be used.

### 'Compact Theory'

Reagan asserted the "compact theory" of the Union. Before the Civil War, that was used to justify "nullification" or state "interposition." According to that doctrine, the states, as authors of the federal government, are individually the proper judges of when it exceeds its authority. This argument was settled not by argument but by steel. But the essential impulse of the "compact theory" lives in the attitude of many conservatives toward the federal government.

The United States' challenge always has been to refute the theory that democracy is unsuited to a large society because the central government, which should express national interests, will be dominated by parochial interests.

That problem did not preoccupy Thomas Jefferson, because he envisioned a homogenous, generally agricultural society, rather than the complicated commercial society Alexander Hamilton envisioned. But Hamilton lacked the poetry to express the romantic concept of a nation. Lincoln had the poetry; so did Daniel Webster.

Defending the "national idea" in 1830, Webster cited the Delaware breakwater, an artificial harbor that the federal government was constructing near the mouth of Delaware Bay. He argued that none of the neighboring states would have built it because it was not for the sole benefit of any one

of them, so only the federal government could do it.

But Webster — like Lincoln, and like another romantic nationalist, Edmund Burke — was unsatisfied merely with economic arguments for the central government's role in American life. He urged a more organic concept of the nation — just as Burke had urged Britons to think of the nation as something more than a partnership agreement in trade, and just as Lincoln was to speak of "the mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone."

### 'New Nationalism'

The Civil War established federal supremacy as a fact, not a theory, and was followed by federal initiatives concerning banking, currency, land, transportation, tariffs, higher education and other matters that promoted national integration. The next two great nationalizers were this century's two greatest presidents.

Text: Roosevelt called his program for countering the disintegrative effects of industrialism — inequalities and class conflict — "the New Nationalism." And, as Beer says, Teddy's cousin Franklin's thematic term was the adjective "national." FDR nationalized economic policy; henceforth the president would be held accountable for the economy's aggregate performance. He made a minimum material entitlement a national concern. And under him, regional politics in the United States increasingly yielded to the national politics of urban and class blocs.

Contemporary conservatism awaits its Burke or Webster — someone who, when he speaks of the nation's expression of itself through the national government, speaks with the soul of a poet rather than a corporate comptroller. Too many conservatives have a crabbed and dispiriting attitude toward the central government.

Conservatives worry too little about the disintegrative forces of the commercial dynamism they nurture. The United States has never suffered from too much unity, or excessive national purposefulness. Regardless of conservative rhetoric, the federal interest has never been too strong.

Not surprisingly, the "natural" governing party — the Republicans after the Civil War, the Democrats after the crash of 1929 — is the party that speaks with most conviction for using the federal government as an instrument of national integration. That is something Republicans can learn from the Tip O'Neill Professor.

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## Versailles: A Chance To Reassert U.S. Ties

By Joseph Kraft

WASHINGTON — Through the fog of war around the Falklands there emerges glimmering evidence as to the ramshackle structure of world politics. Crucial U.S. connections with Britain, Western Europe, the Middle East, Latin America and China seem suddenly to come up for grabs.

In this hour of shifting balances, the first requirement is to reassert basic ties. Fortunately, President Reagan's trip to Europe next month offers an occasion to bring together anew the United States, Japan and the Atlantic allies.

The Latin American standing of the United States has been damaged by the fight over the Falklands. In the crunch, the United States sided with Britain against Argentina. While most Latin American countries dislike the Argentine, they are also quick to resent slights from Washington.

The U.S. tilt away from hemispheric solidarity and toward an old imperial power thus adds new insult to an old injury.

No payoff in improved ties with Britain follows. On the contrary, the impartial stance taken by the United States when it tried to mediate in the conflict was seen as a violation of the "special relationship" that London likes to claim with Washington. If the British emerge from the Falklands any less than triumphant, they will feel, not for the first time, that they were let down by the Yanks.

An absence of strong support has already poisoned British relations with the Continent. At the outset of the Falklands crisis, Britain's EEC partners unanimously voted sanctions against Argentina.

When fighting ceased, the Europeans began having second thoughts. A renewal of the sanctions was voted for only for a week. Harsh words about the Europeans have been spoken by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, and President Francois Mitterrand and Chancellor Helmut Schmidt have had some nasty things to say about Britain.

The United States, once again, is caught in the cross fire. Local conflicts of a deeper kind have similarly bedeviled the U.S. position in the Middle East. Staying friendly with both Israel and the Arab world is tough enough. In addition, there is the war between Iran and Iraq. A big win for Iran would put the Islamic revolutionaries under Ayatollah Khomeini in position to threaten the conservative monarchial regimes of the

real benefits of extending his entreaties to the Salvadoran left, rather than driving them even farther into the arms of the Russians.

ROBERT RODGER, Frankfurt.

### Quote for Quote

Although this letter can also be a response to James Reston's column of May 10, I would like to respond specifically to the one by Enrique Zileri:

"Politically speaking, [Rousseau] presupposed the existence and relied upon the unifying power of the common national enemy. Only in the presence of the enemy can such a thing as *la nation une et indivisible*, the ideal of ... nationalism, come to pass." — Hans-Joachim Lauth

LAURA PADGETT, Frankfurt.

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## Reminder Of Pledge To Britain

By James Reston

WASHINGTON — The Reagan administration made a valiant effort to avoid war between Britain and Argentina over the Falkland Islands. But now that the war has started and the British have established their garrisons on the islands, it is important to note the U.S. military commitments to Britain. This may be the key to the battle and eventually to a negotiated settlement.

At the end of April, after Secretary of State Haig's mediation mission had failed, he said President Reagan had ordered that British requests for military aid be met "positively" in keeping with Washington's alliance with London.

After the British landings, the White House, while still concentrating on a negotiated settlement and emphasizing that there would be no involvement of U.S. troops, said: "We will meet our commitments to Great Britain. Any responses to requests for assistance will be carefully evaluated on a case-by-case basis." The White House added that it would not discuss what kind of military aid it might provide.

Among the many miscalculations that Argentine generals have made, their failure to consider Washington's opposition to their decision to settle this territorial dispute by force of arms may be the most significant.

In the first place, they gambled that the British were too weak to fight. They ignored Reagan's personal last-minute appeals to call off the invasion. They defied the United Nations resolution to withdraw their troops. They brushed off Haig's strenuous efforts to have both sides retreat from the battleground and leave the issue of sovereignty to future but time-limited negotiations. And they misjudged Washington's reaction to all their rejection.

Haig went into these talks with Britain and Argentina as an even-handed mediator, but came out of them on the side of the United Nations and the British.

Washington is not eager to tip the military balance in the preliminary stages of this unnecessary war. It has far more important problems to consider.

It is not trying to topple the present Argentine government, since the alternative there might very well be the revival of the Argentine Peronists. The Peronists are more pro-Soviet and much more likely to welcome Soviet bases in Argentina, which would create a wholly new and dangerous strategic problem for the U.S. Navy in the South Atlantic.

But the United States, in its own interests, cannot accept Argentina's argument that it is merely using force to regain territory Argentina held 150 years ago.

If this notion were accepted in a world of disputed territories, border disputes in Asia, Africa and the Middle East would create even more chaos than there now is in the world. And to take another Latin American example, Mexico still resents the acquisition of Texas and California by the United States in the 19th century.

So the junta in Argentina has taken on more than it bargained for. It is counting on its present support in the air to destroy the British armada's air defenses. But if Washington's commitments to Britain mean anything, they mean that the United States will not stand aside and allow the British forces to be defeated.

This does not mean, as White House has said, that troops would intervene. Hear officials in Washington hear men on the line. The United States will do whatever is necessary to deliver military aid and weapons to the British, and to the progress of the battle around the Falklands.

Unfortunately, Washington has not yet made this quite clear to Buenos Aires. It has hinted at it, waiting to see whether Britain or the British armada are victorious. But if Washington's commitments to Britain mean anything, they mean that the United States will not stand aside and allow the British forces to be defeated.

Reagan, now approaching a summit meeting in Europe to argue for cooperation with the allies against the threat of military aggression and economic confusion in the free world, is confronted by this conflict in the Falklands. It is a test of his credibility. For if he does not make clear that the United States will oppose the use of force and defend its closest ally in Britain, he will soon be in as much trouble abroad as he is with his economic policy at home.

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## NYSE Nationwide Trading Closing Prices May 24

Tables include the nationwide prices up to the closing on Wall Street.

12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
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12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	5			

# Market Summary

May 24, 1982

## Dow Jones Averages

32 Ind	2822.0	High	Low	Close	Change
Indus	2822.0	849.0	825.0	834.0	+24.0
Transp	118.0	36.0	35.0	35.0	+1.0
18 Util	1184.1	114.4	113.0	113.0	+1.0
48 S&P	357.9	35.0	34.5	34.5	-0.5

## Market Diaries

NYSE			AMEX		
Class	Price	Change	Class	Price	Change
Adv.	28.5	2.0	Adv.	1.1	2.0
Decl.	76	716	Decl.	1.0	2.0
Net	16.5	716	Net	0.1	2.0
Traded	16.7	716	Traded	0.1	2.0
Unch.	40	457	Unch.	0.0	2.0
Total	1.078	1.049	Total	0.0	2.0
New Highs	37	10	New Highs	17	2
New Lows	31	10	New Lows	2	2

## NYSE Most Actives

	Sales	Close	Chg.
Am.T.B.T.	272,000	19 1/2	—
LLC	268,000	18 1/4	+ 1/8
Am.Elec.	268,000	18 1/4	+ 1/8
Am.Tel.	268,000	18 1/4	+ 1/8
Am.Tel.	268,000	18 1/4	+ 1/8
Am.Tel.	268,000	18 1/4	+ 1/8
Am.Tel.	268,000	18 1/4	+ 1/8
Am.Tel.	268,000	18 1/4	+ 1/8
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Am.Tel.	268,000	18 1/4	+ 1/8
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Am.Tel.	268,000	18 1/4	+ 1/8
Am.Tel.	268,000	18 1/4	+ 1/8
Am.Tel.	268,000	18 1/4	+ 1/8
Am.Tel.	268,000	18 1/4	+ 1/8
Am.Tel.	268,000	18 1/4	+ 1/8
Am.Tel.	268,000	1	

12 Month Stock				High Low Div. in % Yld. P/E 52 Wk.		High Low		Close		Change	
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%	17%
25%	17%	Armed	1.80	18.0	18.0	17%	17%				

12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change

12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E				

**INFRASTRUCTURE—U.S.A.**



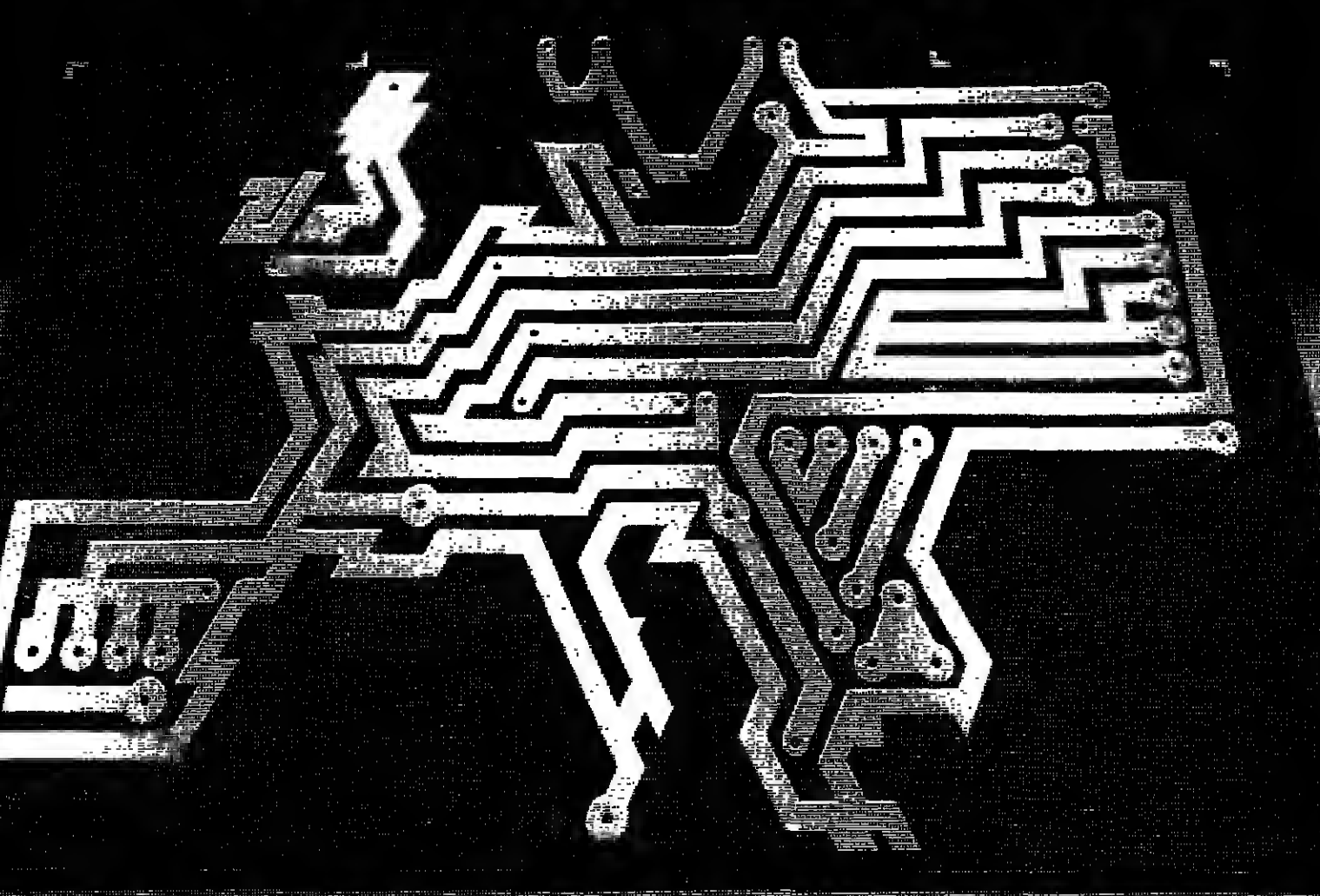
**WATER—**  
Do you want it?

756 major cities must bring their water supplies up to standard.

**LONESTAR**   
FOR THE LONG TERM  
Lone Star Industries, Inc.  
One Greenwich Plaza, Greenwich, CT 06830

12 Month	Stock	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk.	High	Low	Close	Change
High	Low				High	Low			
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M	2	17	17	1494	15	1494	15	+
1494	12M								

# GOULD'S MAP FOR GROWTH



Electronics is one of Europe's fastest growing industries, and few electronics companies are growing faster than Gould.

In just a little over a decade, Gould has become a \$2 billion force in the American electronics industry. And now we are committed to the same kind of dynamic growth in Europe.

With 14 manufacturing plants already in Europe, we are making a whole range of high-technology products for use here and export world-wide.

It's all part of our strategy.

It's a strategy that means Gould is focusing on the electronic products where our proven technological capabilities give us the strongest competitive advantage. We're concentrating in six market segments where this technology shows substantial growth opportunities.

These six key areas are high performance 32-bit minicomputers, factory automation, test and measurement, medical instrumentation, defence systems and electronic components and materials.

To learn more about our company, our strategy and our activities, write to Gould, Department A2, Raynham Road, Bishop's Cleeve, Hertfordshire CM23 5PF, England.

**GOULD**  
Electronics & Electrical Products

IN EUROPE GOULD S.E.L., GOULD GETTYS, GOULD MODCON, GOULD INSTRUMENTS, GOULD MEDICAL, GOULD FOR, GOULD METALL, GOULD POWER CONVERSION, GOULD ACTINAIR, GOULD CFEC, GOULD SHARUIT, GOULD AROCO.

## Toronto Stocks

Closing Prices, May 21, 1982									
Quotations in Canadian funds									
All quotes in cents unless marked \$									
	High	Low	Close	Ch'ge		High	Low	Close	Ch'ge
2968 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1528 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 Atlantic E	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1529 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1530 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1531 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1532 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1533 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1534 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1535 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1536 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1537 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1538 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1539 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1540 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1541 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1542 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1543 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1544 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1545 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1546 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1547 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1548 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1549 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1550 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1551 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1552 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1553 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1554 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1555 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1556 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1557 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1558 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1559 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1560 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1561 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1562 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1563 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1564 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1565 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1566 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1567 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1568 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1569 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1570 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1571 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1572 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1573 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1574 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1575 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1576 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1577 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1578 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1579 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1580 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1581 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1582 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1583 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1584 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1585 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1586 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1587 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1588 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1589 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1590 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1591 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1592 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1593 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1594 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1595 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1596 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1597 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1598 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1599 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1600 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1601 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1602 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1603 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1604 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1605 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1606 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1607 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1608 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1609 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1610 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1611 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1612 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1613 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1614 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1615 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1616 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1617 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1618 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1619 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1620 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1621 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1622 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1623 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1624 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1625 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1626 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1627 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1628 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1629 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1630 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1631 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1632 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1633 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1634 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1635 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1636 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1637 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1638 Bromco	42	42	42	0
2969 AICM Int'l	254 1/4	154	164 1/4	+ 1/4	1639 Bromco	42	42	42	0
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## Selected Over-the-Counter

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**Companhia Riograndense de Mineração**  
INVITATION TO TENDER Nr. 12/82.

COMPANHIA RIOGRANDENSE DE MINERAÇÃO, located in Porto Alegre, State of Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil, at Auxiliadora nr. 215, will purchase the below mentioned equipment through an international invitation to tender.

This acquisition has the financial support of the Inter-American Development Bank, IDB, by its loan nr. 731C-BR.

**EQUIPMENT DESCRIPTION**  
One (1) DOWN-THE-HOLE CRAWLER DRILL, CAPABLE OF DRILLING HOLES FROM 4" (FOUR INCHES) TO 5 1/2" (FIVE AND A HALF INCHES).  
One (1) ELECTRIC POWERED, PORTABLE SCREW-TYPE AIR COMPRESSOR WITH CAPACITY OF AT LEAST 600 CFM RATED, AT 150 PSI.

Instructions to bidders and complete specifications of the equipment will be available at the above mentioned address from May 17th to June 2nd.

Proposals will be received at the same address on July 15th, 1982, at 14:00 o'clock.

Porto Alegre, May 10th, 1982.

## Montreal Stocks

Quotations in Canadian funds.									
All quotes cents unless marked \$									
	High	Low	Class	Chg.		High	Low	Class	Chg.
129 Cdn Crst	3 2/8	81/2	81/2	+ 1/4	125 Cdn Ry	84 7/8	84	84	+ 1/4
715 Cdn Ry	347	348	348	+ 1/4	100 Iowman	39 1/4	39 1/4	39 1/4	+ 1/4
100 Iowman	39 1/4	39 1/4	39 1/4	+ 1/4	925 Mkt Rf	19 1/4	19 1/4	19 1/4	+ 1/4
925 Mkt Rf	19 1/4	19 1/4	19 1/4	+ 1/4	16481 MktBk Cdn	488	455	440	+ 9
16481 MktBk Cdn	488	455	440	+ 9	124 Power Cn	51 1/2	51 1/2	51 1/2	+ 1/4
124 Power Cn	51 1/2	51 1/2	51 1/2	+ 1/4	345 Rgnl Bnk	19 1/4	19 1/4	19 1/4	+ 1/4
345 Rgnl Bnk	19 1/4	19 1/4	19 1/4	+ 1/4	15900 Stndbr-A	32 1/2	32	32	+ 1
15900 Stndbr-A	32 1/2	32	32	+ 1					
Total Sales 481,203 shares.									

## Canadian Indexes

	12 Month	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change	
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change	
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change	
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change	
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change	
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change	
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change	
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change	
12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	Yld.	P/E	52 Wk. High	52 Wk. Low	Close	Change	

مكتبة لائل



A Special Supplement to mark the ECOWAS/CEDEAO Summit

# BENIN



## The Peoples Republic of Benin

### Benin's Foreign Policy: the ECOWAS factor

Benin's foreign policy must first of all be seen in the context of West Africa, and the country's historical position in the region. From the early days of the AOF, the people of Dahomey, by the early access to education (missions were operating in southern Dahomey from the 1860's) and their adaptability, had provided a large reserve of personnel for the different civil services of the AOF, and had been prominent doctors, teachers, educationalists and later scientists and technocrats, throughout the French African territories.

For example, Senegal's first ambassador in London in 1960, Leon Boissier-Palon was a descendant of the royal house of Djougou in north Dahomey: a Behanzin has been a senior minister in Guinea for the last twenty years.

It was not surprising, therefore, that the Dahomeyan politicians of the 1950's should have been partisans of the maintenance of as many regional links as possible - in this particular case the French West

African Foundation. When, in 1957, the loi-cadre constitutional changes presaged the break-up of the AOF and the Balkanisation of West Africa, the Dahomeyan leadership under Sourou Migan Apithy adhered to the Senegalo-led Parti de Regroupement Africain (PRA). The intention was that Dahomey should participate in the proposed Mali federation involving some of the former AOF territories. It was only the carrot of French support for the proposed new port of Cotonou to replace the existing wharf that, it was said, persuaded Apithy to change his mind and to go for the Houphouët-Boigny line of territorial independence.

Since the Mali federation broke up in any case within months of its independence, and the port of Cotonou, as our article indicates, is far from being the white elephant originally feared (having benefited enormously from the side-effects of Nigerian prosperity), who would now say that Apithy was wrong? The break-up of the AOF, however, was

very serious for Dahomeyans on another level - it dramatically restricted the West Africa-wide job opportunities hitherto available to Dahomey's burgeoning educated elite, not to mention a whole middle ranking layer of white-collar workers and small entrepreneurs. The wave of violence against Dahomeyans and Togolese in Abidjan in 1958 was a dramatic warning, repeated in a number of other countries after independence. Ultimately there was only their homeland, where the opportunities were much more restricted.

So it was not surprising that the multiplicity of regional organisations in former French Africa that survived the collapse of the two federations in 1960 were heavily encouraged by the Dahomeyans, who were prominent (and often highly qualified) candidates for jobs in the same organisations. The purpose was to maintain practical institutions in such fields as aviation, telecommunications etc. intact in spite of "balkanisation". Dahomey was particularly prominent

in promoting the Afro-Malagasy Union of 1962-3, which not only had its headquarters in Cotonou (the place still formerly exists, reputedly over-run by rats), but had a permanent title to the Secretary-Generalship. The creation of the OAU and the fall of President Maga (both events in 1963) put an end to the UAM, and although eventually reconstituted on a lower level as OCAM, Dahomey never figured so prominently. There is scarcely an organisation of this kind to which Dahomey/Benin does not adhere, however.

In spite of considerable ideological difference with a country like the Ivory Coast, Benin, in application of the pragmatic principles of scientific socialism, belongs to any grouping which may bring some benefit, such as the Council of the Entente (which might reasonably be described as the Ivory Coast's own mini-sphere of influence). As recently as 1980, Cotonou hosted the much reduced OCAM, which many of the larger richer francophones have left. And in spite of differences with France

that were sometimes quite serious in the 1970's, Benin has remained in all French-sponsored outfits such as, above all, the franc zone, but also those connected with cooperation between francophone countries.

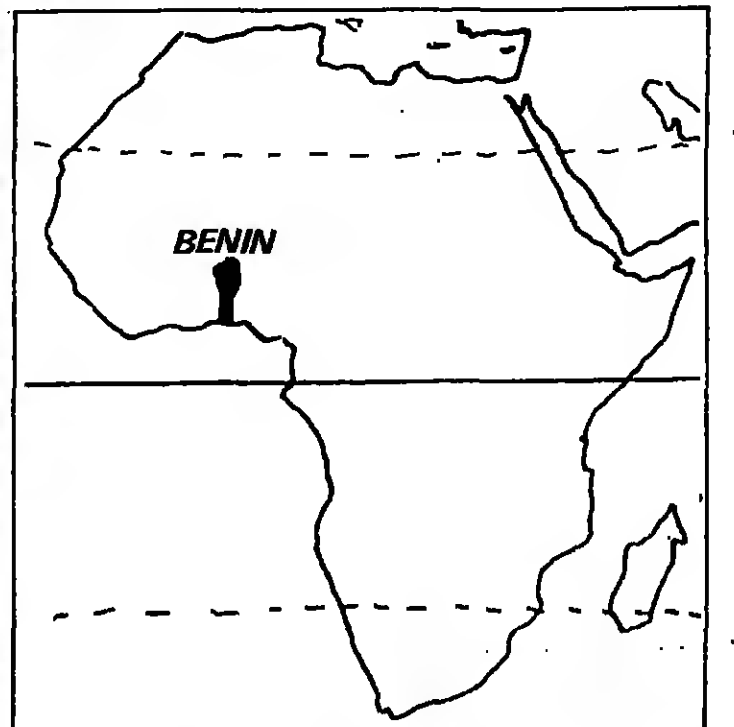
Even the beginning, however, ECOWAS has been a project that appealed to the imagination of the Dahomeyans/Beninois. Even in the early 1960's, Sourou Migan Apithy, when he was President, had proposed a federation between Ghana, Togo, Dahomey and Nigeria. Looking at Dahomey's geo-political position as a long corridor of land, next to another even slimmer corridor, sandwiched between the sizeable Ghana and the giant Nigeria, in particular, any government of Dahomey/Benin have had to have some kind of accommodation. Another article demonstrates some of the areas in which Nigeria and Benin are now cooperating. Although it was with Togo that Nigeria chose to launch the whole ECOWAS experiment in 1962, in other circumstances it might easily have been Benin. It was cer-

tainly out of sympathy with the whole ECOWAS idea that the country refused to go along with the creation of the francophone CEAO (West African Economic Community), which had been the first Houphouët-Boigny/Senghor reaction to the creation of ECOWAS. The summit in Cotonou is a recognition of the background role of support that Benin has played all along in supporting and reinforcing ECOWAS.

The rest of Benin's foreign policy falls into a conventional non-aligned pattern. The cordial relations with the Eastern bloc that one might expect from a country of the Marxist-Leninist persuasions are paralleled by a range of friendships over the industrial world and the third world. And in the Communist bloc there is no preference between Chinese and Russians. Like many African countries, Benin has a profound revulsion for South Africa's apartheid policies, and had enthusiasm for Houphouët-Boigny's policy of dialogue with South Africa. Expulsion of Beninois led to a bitter row with Gabon, a row evened out by Gabon's apparent involvement in the abortive mercenary invasion of Cotonou in 1977.

Area	112,622 km <sup>2</sup>
Climate	Equatorial in south, tropical in north, principal rains May-July
Population	3.6 million (1980 estimate) 2.9 per cent growth per annum
Main cities	Cotonou 253,900 Porto Novo 132,000 Parakou 61,000 Ouidah 53,000 Abomey 50,000
Languages	French (official), Fon, Yoruba (Nago), Bariba, Mina, Dendi etc.
Religion	Majority animist. The rest 17 per cent Christian, 15 per cent Moslem
Currency	CFA franc
GDP	\$850 million (1979) Agriculture 43% Industry 12% Services 45%
GNP per capita	\$250 (1979)

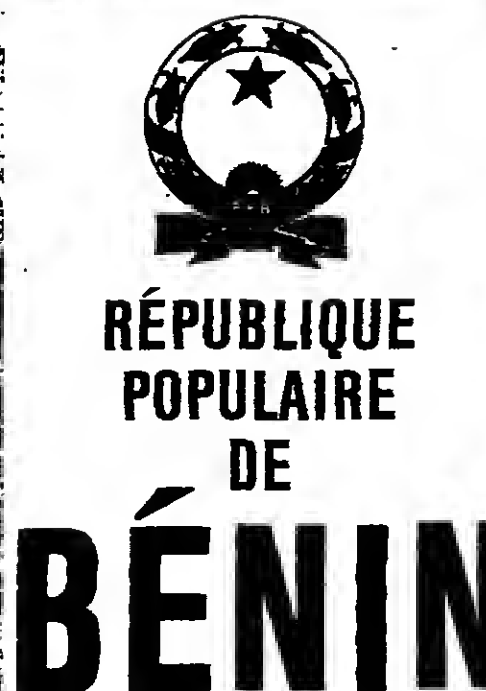
Material prepared by Polydore Bistouri with assistance from Geoffrey Robinson and Bernard Tavi.



President Kerekou visiting a teaching cooperative



President Kerekou



President Kerekou receives Pope John Paul II at Cotonou



Traditional dancing in Atacora



The beach at Grand Popo



President Kerekou at an agricultural cooperative



## The History of Benin

The People's Republic of Benin acquired its name only in 1974. Prior to that it had been the Republic of Dahomey, which before that had been the French overseas territory (colony) of Dahomey, itself a part of the French West African Federation which broke up in 1960.

The name Benin came from the Bight of Benin, that curve of the West African coast around the Niger Delta which gave its name in a general way to a whole stretch of West African coast, although the original kingdom of Benin lies in what is now the Bendel State of Nigeria. Despite the geographical vagueness, and a certain confusion thus created (there are, for instance, now three universities of Benin — in Togo, in Benin, and in Nigeria) there was a logic in the name change. Apart from the desire of the government of the time to create a new image for the country which went along with the introduction of the People's Republic, there was a more specific determination to get away from the powerful and sometimes stastistic ethnic associations of "Dahomey", the name which the French had given to the whole territory which incorporated the historic kingdom of Dahomey (usually written by those concerned with correct orthography as Dan-home, or even Dan-Xome).

Not that there is not pride in Dahomey about the history of their peoples. The French colonial frontiers drawn up in 1898 in the full spate of the Scramble for Africa after complex negotiations with both British and Germans, covered a group of historical kingdoms. Although the frontier delineation paid scant attention to the social, cultural and political realities of the area, apart from Dan-home, the kingdoms of Porto Novo, Djougou, Kouande and Nikki passed largely under the French. But Dan-home was the most influential.

The early history of the kingdom is wrapped in the mists of legend. The Fon peoples, who had moved from the savannah to the forest zones nearer the coast had in the sixteenth century, started forming small embryonic states. The earliest

major one was Ardra (around the ancient city of Allada) but this was overtaken on the one hand by the coastal port of Ouidah and above all the interior kingdom of Abomey, which rose to dominate the whole Fon-speaking area, although through the 17th century Allada maintained theoretical overlordship and the celebrated dynasty of Abomey kings, beginning in the 17th century, whose symbols (such as the shark and the egg of Behanzin) still figure in local carvings and the famous Abomey cloth tapestries: all claimed original descent from Agbessou, the panther god from the rich Fon pantheon.

The name Dan-home itself comes from the 17th century, from the reign of Wegbadja, who killed a chief called Dan for refusing to yield a plot of land. The king built a palace on Dan's grave and called the palace Dan-home (the belly of Dan).

In the 18th century, in consonance with other West African coastal areas, the malign influence of Euro-

demand for slaves in the new world led to the development of Ouidah in particular as a slave entrepot for the whole Dan-home kingdom. The success of the kingdom as a slave trading centre, however, was more a reflection than a cause of its power. Through the reigns of such kings as Agadja, Tegbesou and Kpengla, a remarkable hierarchical society was built up in which the king symbolically renewed his authority annually, and although no despot, used centralisation and religious sanctions to maintain a remarkable power and military organisation which had one of the most considerable reputations in Africa.

At its peak Dahomeyan sovereignty covered maybe one half of the land area of the modern republic, and the kingdom engaged in frequent wars with its neighbours. In the 19th century, as the anti-slavery movement developed, Dahomey excited much hostile criticism, although the brutality, deceit and intrigues were of a kind that you would find in the history of any European royal family if you look hard enough. Tales of the kingdom also exercised a powerful influence on the Western imagination — an influence which has lingered on in the 20th century in, for example, the overheated novels of Frank Yerby, or, very recently, in Bruce Chatwin's bizarre piece of literary exotica *The Viceroy of Ouidah*, which draws attention to the "Brazilian" influences in this part of the coast in the 19th century — part of the phenomenon of returning freed slaves.

Victorian commentators such as Sir Richard Burton, whose *Mission to Zaire, King of Dahomey* (written after three adventurous years in the 1860's as British consul in Ouidah), were also seized on for their accounts of brutality, but they also contain fascinating glimpses of a highly organised and functioning society, that was able to retain its unity remarkably well in the face of the increasing and ultimately overwhelming European menace. As C.W. Newbury, in his introduction to the most recent edition of Burton's narrative, writes: "As a thinker Burton had difficulty suspending judgement as a field worker he had no time to stop and give vent to his less interesting preconceptions."

Many have remarked on the military role of women (sometimes called Amazons) in this highly mobilised society in which the Fon, as the historian Basil Davidson tells us, brought a new and revolutionary concept of kingship. "Until now, like other West African peoples, they had thought of their king or ruler as being a father to them... The king's power is like a strong pot, and the people are the water in the pot; so long as the pot is not damaged or upset, the water is safe. But then Fon invented a different principle of government. They likened the king's power to the water in the pot; the life-giving water that was so scarce and precious to them. The life of the nation was full of dangers and they likened it to a pot with many holes in it. Only if every citizen placed his finger on a hole would the water — the king's power — be kept from wasting. This meant that the whole Fon people became involved in support of their king, who was himself the symbol and guarantee of their safety."

to be very viable commercially, the oil crisis of 1973 and the spectacular increase in the oil price which followed made the oil price more attractive. Even so, it took some time to find a suitable investor, and it was only in 1980 that Saga Petroleum of Norway signed an agreement to develop the field. The project is on schedule, with 15,000 barrels a day expected to flow before the end of 1982.

This will exceed comfortably Benin's oil import needs and could mean a net improvement in the trade balance of over \$150 million, that is roughly equivalent to the trade deficit in 1979 and 1980. There should also be an estimated 20 billion CFA francs available for public investment from 1983 onwards, so a financial position which has already shown an improvement during the 1970's, in spite of the continuing fragility of the situation, should be completely transformed. There are also plans for a \$900 million refinery to be constructed as a joint venture with the U.S. company.

Among the planned infrastructure projects in the 1980-90 period are extension of the port of Cotonou (see special article), the Gbadegbe dam on the River Zou (28.6 billion CFA) in the field of electric power, because there are limits on the amount of cheap power that Benin can receive from the Volta dam at Akosombo in Ghana (at the moment Benin receives a staggering 92 per cent of



Benin sculpture

The end of the Dan-home kings came, as with so many others, through superior European fire-power, but not without a severe struggle. The French made several attempts to establish a protectorate over Porto Novo, which they had correctly identified as a more malleable rival kingdom to Dahomey, although at various periods it too had accepted the overlordship of Abomey. As the imperial competition with the British for control of the Niger Basin continued, the French took the opportunity after the death of the powerful and long-reigning King Glele, and the arrival of a new king, Behanzin, to send in 1892 a force under General Dodds, whose 3,000 men took five months to defeat Behanzin, who was the last independent king of Dahomey. Historians agree that this was one of the most difficult of all the conquests the French engaged in on the African continent. Behanzin was sent into exile, first in Algiers, then in Martinique.

The protectorate, and then colony, of Dahomey also proved to be one of the most intractable of all French possessions to rule. It was well-known as having the highest turnover of governors of all the territories, and experienced several revolts, such as that in 1917 of Kaba, legendary leader of the Somba people who live in the Atacora mountains in the north. There were also dramatic riots in Porto Novo in 1923, which were the beginning of anti-colonial nationalism in modern Dahomey.

As in all the French territories in black Africa, it was the Brazzaville conference of 1944, and the new deal offered at the end of the Second World War by General de Gaulle in the form of French Union, with its universal suffrage and representation in Paris, which led to the growth of political parties in the late 1940's. There had been nationalist figures earlier, such as Louis Houkannin, Georges Toulou-Quenum, and Paul Hazoume (still living as a political elder statesman and father figure right up to the 1960's). However, the political figure who came to the fore in the late 1940's as Dahomey's first representative in Paris was Sourou Migan Apathy, political boss of Porto Novo and the Yoruba-speaking south-east of the country. Porto Novo at the time was still undisputed capital of Dahomey, a title progressively eroded in the fifties and sixties by the increasingly important commercial centre of Cotonou.

As in Nigeria next door, in the '50s, the politics of southern Dahomey split along regional lines, with a Fon politician from Abomey, Justin Ahomadegbe, setting up a rival Fon-based political grouping to contest Apathy's supremacy. As in Nigeria, the neglected, under-developed north took advantage of the split, and created its own party under the Bariba teacher Hubert Maga. Thus emerged (in an echo of the Nigerian drama) the famous three-cornered stool of Dahomeyan politics, with three regional power bosses engaged in a permanent confusing minuet of power that all too soon became a treadmill. All through the 1950's there were a succession of alliances and break-ups between the three, and at independence Maga was on top (in a loose alliance with Apathy, with Ahomadegbe in opposition) and so became the first President of the independent republic of Dahomey.

In this capacity he remained in power for more than three years, which proved to be quite a good record compared to the turbulence that followed. For Dahomey, for a number of reasons, proved to be one of the earliest victims in independent Africa of the instability which came from the collapse of the expectations of independence. Many attempts were made to analyse the peculiar instability of the country, an instability which came to be associated, to the shame of its citizens, with their country. It was always said that Dahomey, with its concentration of education in the south, "the Latin Quarter of Africa", a country where everyone was said to aspire to be a cabinet minister, had a particularly intense competition for the prizes of office, which in a country of only limited means, were thin on the ground.

Stripped to this mix the return to the country at independence of more of the same, who had been numerous in the civil service of the French West African Federation, and the mix becomes more explosive. The economic effect of the return was to strain the already limited resources of government, so that a top-heavy civil service establishment set up

one of the most imbalanced budgets any state could have, with the result that Dahomey became a byword in France in particular as a country with a bottomless pit of a budget in need of permanent subsidy from the colonial power. Thus expectations diminished even further, and given an active trade union movement, and a volatile tradition of political agitation (see above), it becomes surprising that Maga lasted as long as he did.

A benevolent man in the middle, largely unaware of the volcano on which he was sitting, Maga had one conspicuous weakness, a taste for spending money on prestige projects. Doubtless in the first flush of independence he was encouraged by his colleagues in the government to engage in prestige spending, but Cotonou still lives with the results of Maga's grandiose taste, notably a bizarre presidential palace, with fittings that could have strayed from the set of *Cleopatra*, complete with gold-plated balcony from which to wave to the expected multitudes below. Maga's "folly" was rumoured to have cost 3 million dollars, which in 1960-61 was a lot of money for a small country. It is now, needless to say, a little less worn, and only used by the present President as offices.

The fuse that triggered the fall of Maga was an obscure ethnic quarrel about the murder of a Porto-Novian working in Sakete, which led to demonstrations in Porto Novo, which were taken over by trade unionists smarting under wage restrictions introduced by Maga, who was out of the country. Continuous demonstrations, arrests of trade unionists, a general strike, and the descent of armed northerners on Cotonou to support Maga brought an intervention by the army commander Colonel Christophe Soglo on October 28 1963, the first in a series of military take-overs and pincushions which added a new and more complicated element to Dahomey's instability. But October 1973 was the nearest thing to a popular revolution the country has ever had.

This particular take-over was no real coup, it was more a light-weight army intervention to reshuffle the civilian pack. All three cards were now in play again, only this time Maga was eased out, and an uneasy arrangement with Apathy as President and Ahomadegbe as Prime Minister was introduced. The exclusion from power of the north brought a violent reaction there, with riots in Parakou (Maga's political headquarters), but the Apathy-Ahomadegbe tandem struggled on until the end of 1965, when an attempt by Ahomadegbe to take over full powers brought a new army intervention. First, to install a new temporary President and then, a month later in December 1965, to move in fully to power, with government technicians under Soglo, now a general. Soglo had certainly been pressed into a more decisive role by some of the younger army officers behind him, the first sign of a key phenomenon throughout this period — the articulation of political ideas

by army officers. Soglo lasted two years until he too was brought down following a general strike, in a coup by the most volatile of the younger officers, Lt Col Maurice Kouandete, one of Dahomey's most compulsive coup-makers, who never succeeded, however, in making the top job. Kouandete brought in Soglo's number two, Colonel Alley, a northerner with a following in the south, as well as in the army, but the army was becoming increasingly politicised and beset with internal divisions, some of them mirroring the three-legged regional divisions of civilian politics, so a new attempt was made to try a civilian experiment, and an attempt was made to hold elections without the "big three" — Maga, Apathy and Ahomadegbe. A substantial boycott of the elections proved what swayed these three held, but faced with this fiasco, the army still determined to exclude the old leaders, turned to a "fourth man" — Dr. Emile Derlin Zinsou, who had been Maga's Foreign Minister. Zinsou's attempts to impose austerity fell foul of the tradesmen and the urban middle classes and, lacking a real power base, when in December 1969 he quarrelled with Kouandete — the man who had been principally responsible for putting Zinsou there in the first place — it was coup-time again.

This time there emerged a military triumvirate of Kouandete (north), Colonel Sinsogan (Porto Novo) and Colonel da Souza (Abomey), the latter officially head of state. Faced with the political realities of the power bases of the old politicians, now in exile, and beset by their own personal rivalries, the military could think of nothing else but to hold elections, this time with the "big three". These elections, in April 1970, produced an entirely predictable stalemate and plunged Dahomey into the most serious crisis of its 22 years of independence, with reports of a split in the army on north-south lines and threats of secession by the north. Only a heavy session of political bargaining which produced one of the strangest constitutional forms seen in all independent Africa, resulted in a three-man presidential council with a president rotating every two years.

Maga held the Chairmanship for the first two years and Ahomadegbe, finally in the top job, took over in May 1972, but his ebullient personality and authoritarian instincts led to a breakdown of the system, and the army moved in once more. This time, since Kouandete was himself increasingly seemed to rule him out of the power stakes, it was his brother in arms and fellow Somba, Major Mathieu Kerekou, who with colleagues from his own age group moved in on October 26, 1972, in the last in the series of coups. "The ousted civilian leadership held its powder from the army. The army has taken back what it gave," said Kerekou. But this time there was a complete change in the pattern of Dahomeyan politics. The mould of instability had been broken.



The village architecture of Northern Benin

## Economic Survey

The economy of the Peoples Republic of Benin/Dahomey has never been a very promising one. Largely dependent on revenues from a mixed bag of agricultural commodities, with very little in the way of minerals, Benin has had to depend on transit trade, first of all with Niger, and now, increasingly with Nigeria (what is politely called "unrecorded trade"), and its own resourcefulness.

Although statistics are late and sometimes hard to come by, it is evident that the major trading partners of Benin are France, the Netherlands, and Japan, each with over a billion CFA francs (50 CFA equals 1 French franc), as well as Nigeria and Niger. France and other West European countries (except the UK) supply over half of Benin's imports (France is well in the lead here with over 28 per cent as against 17 per cent for all the rest of the EEC), but Benin's imports from China exceeds those of Japan and the US put together. There is a surprisingly high figure of imports from the UK (over 13 per cent) but this may relate to indirect Nigerian trade.

Total import and export trade with the EEC as a whole is nearly 50 per cent of the total, but unfortunately imports now exceed exports — the cross-over point was in the early 1970's. This is simply a reflection of a wider gap between imports and exports, which has been present for a great deal longer, and relates to Benin's basic budgetary disequilibrium, linked to its costly public sector (one third of Benin's recurrent budget goes on education costs, especially the salaries of teachers).

One way that has been suggested for breaking out of this vicious circle has been to start to reduce the birthrate — there are at the moment 3.5 million Beninois growing at a rate of 2.9 per cent per annum, far like many other third world countries there is a preponderance of young people under 25. But Benin's development planners who are now operating in the framework of an ambitious "National Programme for Economic and Social Development for the decade 1980 to 1990" see more possibilities from the restoration of the agricultural sector and the development of new export earners.

such as cement (from the Onigbolo plant now being completed with Nigerian support) and eventually oil (see below). This plan was submitted to a conference document to the UN conference on problems of the least-developed countries in Paris last September. Benin is one of these countries, with a GNP per capita of \$250 (1979).

Agriculture had been a very difficult area. The serious drought in 1976 and 1977 did incalculable damage to the production of the principal export crop, oil palm, and only now is production beginning to move back to former levels (44,000 tons exported in 1971). Until this year the 29,000 hectares of industrial oil palm plantations have been functioning at under 50 per cent of their capacity. However in 1982, as the replacement trees mature, figures for both palm kernels and palm oil should be back to 75 per cent of pre-drought levels. Cotton, groundnuts and coffee have all had uneven production figures in recent years, but it is again expected that this year's figures will show an improvement. Cotton production, for example, had halved after a French company withdrew in 1974, although bad weather and low prices also contributed to the decline. The IDA (World Bank) and the IFAD (International Fund for Agricultural Development) of the FAO are contributing a total of \$34 million to the total cost of \$41 million for an important rural development project in Borgou province, designed to strengthen the operating agencies, improve cotton (as well as food crop) production, and improve water development, research, seed production and animal traction. A major campaign was launched in 1981-2 to double the production of cotton by increasing by 20 per cent the area of land cultivated.

A major \$211 million sugar project (partly British financed) is in course of construction at Savé, and will include a refinery and a cane production plant. Although some is intended for domestic consumption, it is anticipated there will be exports inside West Africa.

The main area where the record of the Benin government is good (and again it

has earned international commendation for this one) is that of food production. Figures for cassava, yams and maize in particular show a remarkably steady growth for the whole period of the 1970's. The same can be said to a lesser extent for beans and sorghum. In the ten-year plan the emphasis is very much on food self-sufficiency and security and some 55 billion CFA francs are allocated to agriculture, a good half of which is to be spent in the development through irrigation of the Niger valley in the north of the country. The rest is earmarked for village water supplies, seed programs and state farms. There are also plans for livestock development.

It is never forgotten that agriculture contributes one third of the gross national product, and employs over 70 per cent of the population. Regional development programmes under the Action Centres (CARDERS) also help contribute to improved agricultural standards.

Benin has benefited considerably from foreign aid in recent years (in 1980 aid totalled more than \$100 million) and although traditional sources such as France and the European Development Fund of the EEC are still highly valued and form an important percentage of Benin's total development budget, communist countries account for only 1 per cent of total aid and countries such as Nigeria, Libya and Norway (to take three examples) have developed important cooperation connections.

Libya, for example, is involved in joint ventures such as Belmine (mining marble in Zou province and Belpêche (a modern fish and shrimp industry). Nigeria has assisted in road construction, in the provision of a printing press and, more recently in the joint venture of the \$125 million Onigbolo cement works near Savé, a project dear to the heart of the Beninois. Norway is perhaps the most unusual and interesting partner of all, for not only are the Norwegians involved in the modernisation and enlargement of Cotonou port but in the development of Benin's embryonic oil industry. The Savé field was discovered in 1968 some 15 to 20 km off the coast near the Nigerian border. Although initially the field was not believed

to be very viable commercially, the oil crisis of 1973 and the spectacular increase in the oil price which followed made the oil price more attractive. Even so, it took some time to find a suitable investor, and it was only in 1980 that Saga Petroleum of Norway signed an agreement to develop the field. The project is on schedule, with 15,000 barrels a day expected to flow before the end of 1982.

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Among the planned infrastructure projects in the 1980-90 period are extension of the port of Cotonou (see special article), the Gbadegbe dam on the River Zou (28.6 billion CFA) in the field of electric power, because there are limits on the amount of cheap power that Benin can receive from the Volta dam at Akosombo in Ghana (at the moment Benin receives a staggering 92 per cent of

its electricity from Ghana). Another hydro-electric project, which has been kicked around for a long time is the Nangbe hydro-electric project on the Mono River, between Benin and Togo.

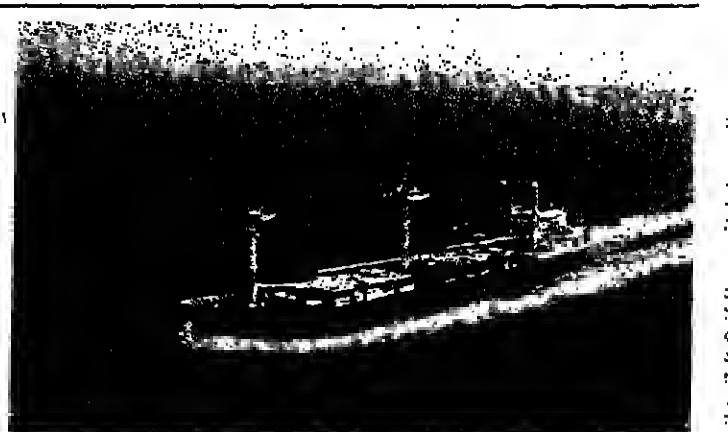
But the lions share of anticipated investment over the whole decade is expected to go to the extension of the Cotonou-Parakou railway to Niamey in Niger. The aim will be to facilitate trade between Niger and Cotonou, especially the important and sensitive uranium trade, which of late has been passing through Togo rather than Benin. The cost of this is put at a colossal 164 billion CFA, but the plans for building it (discussed ever since the 1930's) have been announced, and the government has made it a major priority. The French are thought to be willing to lend their support, and the EEC, with its particular interest in regional projects of this nature (it is something that is built into the philosophy of the Lomé Convention, of which Benin is a member) would probably be willing to act as a convener of a donors conference at which a wide range of international funders from the Western and Arab worlds would be likely to be in attendance.

Obviously development is costly, especially with inflation running at around 15 per cent per annum, but it is anticipated that Benin will come through this period without too much over-heating, thanks in part to the way they have kept their debt-

service ratio down to modest figures: it has never climbed above 22 per cent. Apart from the oil, cement and sugar projects, the modernised fishing industry and the marble works, there is now, with Sobetex, a strong local textile industry, and through Beninoise (Société Nationale de Brasserie) a modern beverage business. Development of gold, china, clay, salt and phosphates are mentioned in the plan, but await investors. Tourism is also being developed, albeit a little more discreetly than in Togo next door. The famous old French hotel company PLM has taken over the management of the village that was built in 1979 for OCAM (villas for heads of state, etc.) and will run it as a 5-star hotel after making some alterations. As soon as the ECOWAS heads of state depart Cotonou after the summit, the tourism minister will hand over the entire OCAM compound to PLM. A 200-room block will be built alongside it by the same company that built the Sankofa hotel in Togo. A similarly luxurious development, which will be in use during the ECOWAS meeting is the Benin-Sheraton Hotel due to be officially opened on June 1. The other hotels in Cotonou (the Lac, the Plage and the Hotel du Port) are also all being refurbished which should help maintain the reputation of Cotonou as the place for a quiet weekend away from the hustle and bustle of Lagos.

One of the keys to Benin's economy nowadays is the port of Cotonou which has been developed to the point where it can handle up to 3 million tons of traffic a year — 40% for Nigeria and the landlocked fraternal Francophone countries to the north.

The geographical position of Cotonou Port is ideal for West African trade — Abidjan, Bouaké, Ouagadougou, Niamey, Zaria and Douala all lie as the crow flies, some 1,000 kms from Cotonou. By road, Lomé, Lagos and Ibadan are 135, 115 and 235 kms from Cotonou; Fada N'Gourma in Upper Volta just 801 kms. Ansoanga and Gao in Mali just 1,417 and 1,516 kms respectively; Niamey via Parakou just 1,058 kms and Kano 1,540. As road and rail communications improve — for instance, the new bridge over the Fendari river opening up better trading routes to Upper Volta and beyond — so for purposes, unloading ships, skip trucks, fire fighting equipment and all the paraphernalia of a truly modern port. A Ro-Ro Quay and giant Portique for Containers are being considered, new equipment is being ordered as a continuing process. Rail transport out of the port has also been updated — containers of 40-55-20-b tons, tanker wagons, sulphur wagons and a 60-ton capacity railway crane — plans are also well advanced to build a stretch of railway track from Parakou to Niamey via Kandi and Dossou, at the same time a line from Niamey to Ansoanga is being considered. All plans that will enhance the scope of Cotonou Port. The Benin government provides the shipping and forwarding companies Cotonaham, Sonatrak and Sotracor. Specialities of the port are sulphur (60,000 tons), chink (125,000 tons) and vegetable oil (40,000 tons) transshipments. The Port Authority is also modernising its Fishing Port area — there is a covered fish hall, an ice-chill production plant (30 tons a day capacity), a wholesale fish market, provision for freezing of fish and cold storage, and a Freeze Tunnel for the very important and lucrative shrimp industry, mainly for export to Japan.

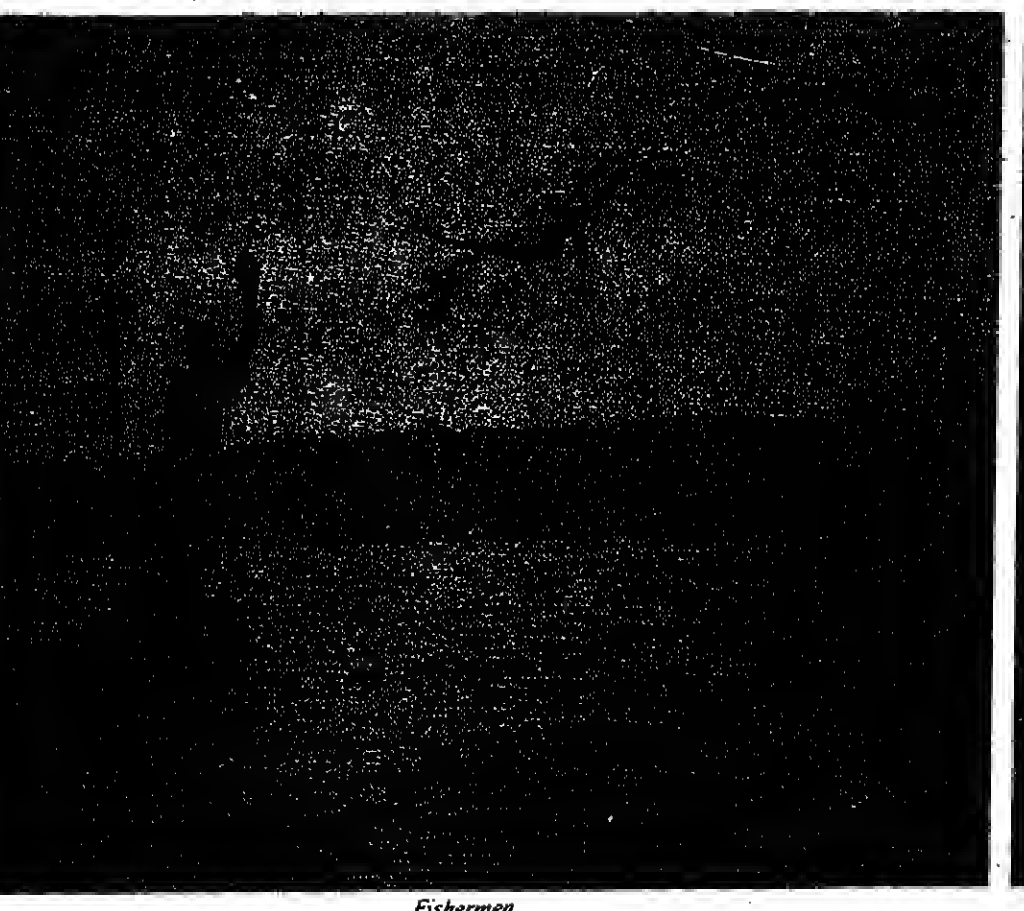


## The Port of Cotonou

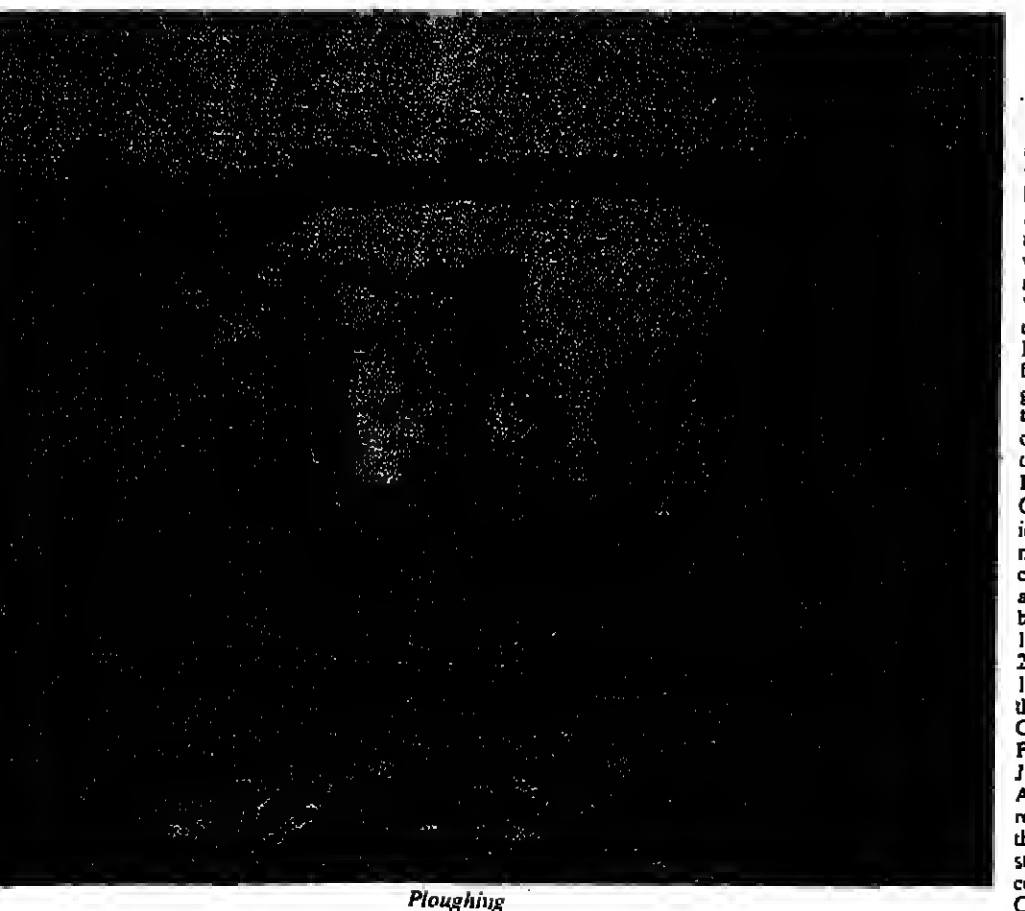
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quay (8 berths) for General Cargo ships and with the latest cathodic corrosion protection Benin embarks technological progress: a 200-meter quay for bulk cargoes — petrol/hydrocarbons, clinker and a 160-meter quay for vegetable oils; a 100-meter quay for small ships and a 165-meter quay for fishing boats, plus a Naval Repair Yard. The harbour pool is dredged to 11 meters, at the quay side it is 10 meters and in the Entrance Channel 12.5 meters. There are large Bonded Warehouses, Transit sheds, Storage Tanks, Grain Silos, and a Container Park. At the entrance to the Port are 60-ton capacity weighbridges and the Port uses presently a 50-ton capacity tyre mobile quayside crane backed up by 5-ton capacity Hyster cranes and Fork-Lifts from 2 to 40 tons capacity. There are towing vehicles, spreaders, loaders, trailers, suction transporters, unloading ships, skip trucks, fire fighting equipment and all the paraphernalia of a truly modern port. A Ro-Ro Quay and giant Portique for Containers are being considered, new equipment is being ordered as a continuing process. Rail transport out of the port has also been updated — containers of 40-55-20-b tons, tanker wagons, sulphur wagons and a 60-ton capacity railway crane — plans are also well advanced to build a stretch of railway track from Parakou to Niamey via Kandi and Dossou, at the same time a line from Niamey to Ansoanga is being considered. All plans that will enhance the scope of Cotonou Port. The Benin government provides the shipping and forwarding companies Cotonaham, Sonatrak and Sotracor. Specialities of the port are sulphur (60,000 tons), chink (125,000 tons) and vegetable oil (40,000 tons) transshipments. The Port Authority is also modernising its Fishing Port area — there is a covered fish hall, an ice-chill production plant (30 tons a day capacity), a wholesale fish market, provision for freezing of fish and cold storage, and a Freez Tunnel for the very important and lucrative shrimp industry, mainly for export to Japan.



Fishermen



Ploughing



# The New Politics

At the time of Kerekou's coup in October 1972 there was little to suggest that it would be necessary to change the country's political structure. The only army government that had stood up for any length of time had been that of General Soglo, but that had foundered on its own contradictions, the desperate economic situation, the clash of temperaments between the old guard men from the French army like Soglo and Aley, and the younger products of French military academies: temporarily more politicized, and more in tune with the influential southern Dahomey intelligentsia. Once the problem of the personal ambition of Kouandete (a brilliant but erratic product of St. Cyr) was out of the way, and a number of colonels had been shunted to one side, it was possible to establish a more homogenous government, consisting for the first time of almost entirely military men, mostly majors and captains, none over 40, with a 33-year-old president, all anxious to bring a genuinely new deal to a country that had been badly served by history and circumstance.

It was scarcely surprising that such a new deal should involve a move to the left. Professor Crawford Young, one of the most prominent of US Africanists (he is professor of Political Science at the University of Wisconsin) in a recent book on "Ideology and Development in Africa," writing of "The Rise of the Afro-Marxist Regime" takes Dahomey/Benin as one of his case histories. "In the first dozen years of independence," he writes "ideology played almost no overt role in politics; socialism was never a regime commitment... Governance was essentially the art of reconciling the contradictory pressures for budget austerity on the one hand and mobilizing support on the other." By the 1970's, what he calls the "lexicon of dissidence" had become radicalized, especially among trade unionists and students, but the Kerekou regime did not initially signal a new departure. Although a month after taking power Kerekou delivered an important "Discourse Programme" in which although the word socialism was not yet mentioned, included nationalistic economic measures such as the location in Dahomey of the headquarters and accounting of all foreign companies operating in Dahomey, the revision of the investment code in a manner more favourable to Dahomeyans and, in a more general fashion, the taking over by the state of "vital sectors" of the economy, which sounds suspiciously like socialism. The language of the speech also provided a pointer: "the fundamental character-

istics and the primary source of our backwardness is foreign domination. The history of this domination is that of political oppression, economic exploitation, cultural alienation, and the exaggeration of inter-regional and inter-tribal contradictions."

At the same time, Kerekou had set up a 100-man advisory committee drawn from all sections of the community, who were charged with assisting the government to formulate policy. This committee drew heavily on trade unions and student movements, and certainly its deliberations helped in the process of radicalization. In September 1973 more institutions were launched at local and national levels, going right down to the villages, associating civilians with the military, a theme which became ever more pressing, for although the soldiers were clearly still convinced of their vocation to be at the centre of power, they clearly wanted, in a country as highly politicized as Benin, to involve the civilians in government as much as possible. The highest institution created was a National Council of the Revolution.

The decisive plunge into socialism was taken in the speech on the second anniversary of the Discourse Programme—November 30, 1974. In this speech President Kerekou made the decisive step of announcing that the official "revolutionary philosophy, the basis and the guide of our revolutionary movement" would be Marxism-Leninism (see accompanying text). Shortly after the speech it was announced that committees for the defence of the revolution would be established in all public enterprises, private enterprises, state institutions and mass organizations. On the economic level, the adoption of "scientific socialism" was immediately translated into the nationalisation of insurance, major banks and Franco-Cable. In the industrial sector there was a two-point programme which was progressively implemented over the years 1975-6. This came under a two-prong approach—the acquisition of 51% control of existing companies, and the creation of new organizations. Majority shares were obtained in, for example, two textile factories, a ceramic plant and a cement works. Oil product distribution, hotels and pharmaceuticals were also taken over, and 100% interest was obtained in electricity and water, vegetable oils and beverages. It would be wrong to exaggerate the impact of the take-overs. Industry accounted for only 7% of the gross national product, and important small private enterprises have remained in such sectors as food processing, chemicals, construction and shoes. The compensation bill for all take-overs was only \$8 million. Nonetheless French

aid was temporarily suspended until agreement was reached on the amounts for compensation. In 1975 the change in the regime was consolidated psychologically by establishing a Peoples Republic, and changing the name of Dahomey to Benin, thereby making a complete break with the instability of recent history. As Crawford Young says: "The choice for socialism is most comprehensible as an effort to lay claim to legitimacy for regime institutionalisation. Disaffection with the endemic instability of Benin politics was high. Marxism-Leninism represented at least rhetorical innovation, and a means of distinguishing the incumbent regime from the discredited past."

Not that the instability was over. The year 1975 proved difficult, with a number of plots, agitations and local tensions. At the same time the regime proceeded with the establishment of the Parti Revolutionnaire du Peuple Beninois, complete with Central Committee and Political Bureau. Things continued to be difficult right up to 1977, when an unforeseen event occurred which permitted the Kerekou regime a new lease of life, just when it had hit that period in which in the past Dahomey regimes had run into the sand. This event was the notorious landing of a mixed group of mercenaries at Cotonou airport on January 16, 1977. The group moved into the centre of the city, became involved in a few skirmishes, and then disappeared as mysteriously as they had come. The reason for their odd behaviour was normally attributed to the fact that they may have been due to link up with a fifth column in Cotonou which never materialised. They had certainly been paid to engage in the venture by opposition

groups, with the apparent complicity of a few foreign governments.

This fiasco was turned to good account by Kerekou, who experienced a new surge of goodwill domestically which permitted him to gain more confidence, both at home and abroad. Indeed, since the mercenary adventure there have been few outward signs of discontent, either in the army or in the political class. Following countrywide elections for president and parliament in 1980, the President left confident enough to release from detention the former big three of civilian politics in old Dahomey—Messrs. Maga, Aboudaoudo and Apithy—in 1981. Quite simply, they no longer presented a threat to the regime.

More recently, the President engaged in a major political reshuffle, practising the kind of political balancing between different interest groups at which he has become increasingly expert. But the civilian majority in the government is increasingly evident where once it was all soldiers.

The observation is sometimes made that socialism-Benin-style concentrates more on word than on deed. This, however, is to misunderstand the nature of the approach of the present leaders to the application of their socialism. There is a considerable awareness that you cannot run before you walk, and that you have to take into account the traditional nature of African society before trying to put into practice any theories.

Thus the application of state control we have seen above has been in fairly limited sectors of the economy, which is still predominantly agricultural. Although there is an official policy of introducing cooperatives as part of a longer term plan to move to a much greater collectivisation of agriculture, movement has been extremely cautious on this front. As another article shows, Benin's agricultural economy has a fragile base, but it is still a highly important foreign exchange earner.

Where there has been more effort to practice what is preached has been in the educational sector where, from 1975 onwards, a serious attempt has been made to change curricula, and introduce the idea of "la nouvelle école"—much of which is less to do with ideology than adapting to real needs. Church schools have come under considerable pressure from the government, but in practice the Catholic church is strong, and Benin's cardinal, Bernardin Gantin, Archbishop of Cotonou, is a prestigious figure not only in Benin but in Africa. Hence the importance of Pope John Paul II's somewhat unusual visit to Benin in February, in which posters of Marx and Lenin and Mao were displayed alongside that of the Pope. Although President Kerekou spoke to the Pope of Benin's attachment to Marxism-Leninism, and the Pope

said he saw signs of a "new spring" for the church in Benin, but that the task was a difficult one, there was no doubt that the visit was extremely popular, and the government itself made capital from the Pope's popularity. Any government would do the same.

One key to understanding the apparent paradox of Benin is that Benin is a deeply religious people. African religion, with its animism and pantheon of gods co-exists easily alongside the Christianity that the people of the south so easily adopted, and the Islam that penetrated to the north. But all these co-exist alongside the official Marxist philosophy, which tends to be treated as another religion. You have only to listen to the "Internationale" as sung by local choirs to make the connection.

This very factor, this tendency to

be all-embracing, may well also contribute to the present stability, and may be the best way for Benin to pursue its own African identity. The ultimate paradox that you find in the new Benin is that the sort of stability that is so solicitously sought after by Western industrialists and investors seems to have been achieved by a regime that has certainly vociferously preached, and on occasion modestly put into practice, some of the measures that might normally frighten investors and aid donors away. That this does not seem to have happened, and in fact encouraging international noises have been made from some conservative quarters like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund about the sensible management of the economy by these pragmatic marxists, suggests that the Kerekou formula may in fact be the best one for Benin.

The balancing of the budget for the first time since independence in 1976 may have been due to the spin-offs, both legitimate and under-cover, from the Nigerian oil boom, and good fortune seems likely to continue when oil revenues start coming in from the offshore Seme field (see economic article) but had Kerekou allowed ideology to carry him into financial foolishness (like, for example, leaving the franc zone), the story could still be very different. In any case, his Nigerian neighbours could tell him that oil creates as many headaches as it solves. The budget remains, for the moment, fragile. The evil service is still heavily over-established. The temptation for prestige projects is ever present. But the lesson is that for Benin to achieve stability, it had to move left.

## "The only way to rapid development, dignity and national independence"

Extracts from a broadcast made by President Kerekou on November 30, 1974, on the occasion of the second anniversary of the Government's proclamation of its revolutionary programme.

"The country is celebrating our determination to think as truly free men and to act as responsible citizens fully aware of our capacities, our potentialities, and what our country represents in the concert of nations", says the President.

We went on: "In order to achieve this goal, we must first of all correct our bourgeois mentality and purge our society of everything that is a source of subversion, disorder and anarchy. We must also ensure national unity at all costs. Our ideology will not be dogmatic. It will be the beacon guiding our moves to radically transform our society and its people in all fields."

"Our ideology must take into account the historic experience of other States which, before us, have chosen to embark upon a pure, authentic and social revolution. Our ideology must be thoroughly and precisely defined to fit the place where it operates, that is, our anti-neocolonialist society. Our ideology must enable the people of Dahomey to search for and maintain militant and anti-imperialist friendship with all peoples of the world on the basis of respect for territorial integrity, non-interference in the affairs of others and the safeguarding of national dignity and sovereignty."

"For all these reasons, convinced that they reflect the profound aspirations of our militant people, we solemnly proclaim today, November 30, 1974, that the new society in which each Dahomean will find

happiness is the socialist society. Therefore, we declare the only historic and just way of development is socialism and that it is this doctrine that the people of Dahomey have irreversibly chosen as from November 30, 1974."

"We know that without this doctrine, Dahomey has no other way of rapid development, in dignity and national independence. This fundamental option which the people of Dahomey have decided to adopt from today, this fundamental option for the establishment of a socialist society in Dahomey, is an historic necessity. From today, all our actions, our ways of acting and thinking, must tend to translate this option into fact. For this reason our revolutionary philosophy, the basis and the guide of our revolutionary movement, is Marxism-Leninism."

But given this movement towards Marxism-Leninism, the enemies and detractors of the Dahomean people can be expected to try to make people believe that the Marxist-Leninist doctrine is satanic. We again deny this suggestion. In fact, Marxism-Leninism is a philosophy and guide for every revolutionary action, an instrument for scientific analysis, a national method for work, and an exemplary code of conduct for daily social life. Marxism-Leninism is intended essentially to liberate the masses from all reactionary ideologies and manifestations in all forms."

"Some of our fellow countrymen can say that Marxism-Leninism is not an authentic Dahomean doctrine. Such people are only deceiving themselves because Marxism-Leninism comprises universal laws, relating to the struggles of mankind and the

radical transformation of the world and its societies, in order to eradicate completely the exploitation of man by man."

"Having fixed the objective of the future Dahomean socialist society and having taken into account the country's realities, which determine the nature of its revolution at the present stage, Marxism-Leninism is our instrument of analysis, the guide of our actions and our doctrine for our daily and social life. This will enable us to complete the unfinished tasks in our new policy programme of national independence. It will henceforth guide us in finishing the most urgent tasks of the revolution, which are:

To eradicate foreign domination completely from our country;  
To fight actively against exploitation of man by man, racism, apartheid, regionalism, tribalism, inter-regional imbalance, social injustice, and so on;  
To make our people think in the same way, with a view to achieving a greater unity of action based on Marxism-Leninism;  
To organize and direct the life of the national economy according to the principles and rules of scientific socialism. We can do this, first of all, by relying on our own strength, on our own resources and on the creative initiative of the large working masses. We must free ourselves completely from all forces of political oppression economic exploitation and cultural alienations;  
To revive our culture, our languages and traditions, in the struggle against foreign domination;  
To master scientific and technological methods and put them in the service of the organized and mobilized

people:  
To master the knowledge of the revolution and, more particularly, the specific rules of the Dahomean revolution; and  
To organize scientifically the social and productive masses of the country for the defence of the revolution.

For all these reasons, we must today determine and specify who are the friends and supporters of the Dahomean revolution and who are the enemies of our revolution. In our opinion, the friends and supporters are the farmers, soldiers, officers and patriotic intellectuals as well as others whose interests are not basically foreign. The enemies of our revolution are the international imperialists and local hirelings supported by foreign powers, bureaucratic bourgeois elements and traditional feudal lords."

"In order to accomplish our tasks, the Dahomean people must be organized on a scientific and operational basis. We shall leave no stone unturned. For this reason, a political commissar will be appointed for each province. He will be a member of the National Political Bureau or the National Revolutionary Council.  
"In conclusion, we can assert that there are two struggling ideological tendencies in our country today—one is the group of the enemies of the revolution. Their ideology consists of the exploitation of man by man, division of the people, embezzlement of public funds, regionalism, servility to powers of money and international imperialism. The other is the group of worthy sons and patriots of this country who have chosen to embark on a revolution and build a socialist society in Dahomey under the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism."



Young Beninoise

This is an English translation of part of the original French text occupying the fourth page of this Supplement

# WE ARE IN THE REVOLUTION, THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES

## Promising mining potential

Benin's mineral resources are not fully known. The limited amount of prospecting carried out has produced results which, though obtained piecemeal, hold out good hopes for Benin's chances of securing a firm basis for self-sufficiency and export development.

The results of the limited prospecting carried out to date may be summed up as follows:

- (i) Five (5) out of nine (9) off-shore wells have given positive results, and estimates of definite reserves are put at 40 million barrels.
- (ii) Phosphate seams discovered in the North had an average 20 to 32% content and definite reserves are put at 2.5 million tons. Work currently in progress warrants an estimated 5 to 6 million tons for existing reserves. This would be enough to meet Benin's agricultural development needs in superphosphates and cover a portion of the requirements of neighbouring countries.
- (iii) Iron ore reserves are to be found mainly in the North, and have been estimated at 500 million tons of average content. They would be sufficient in meeting Benin's requirements and those of neighbouring countries as well.
- (iv) Kaolin deposits exceed local needs in ceramics, paper-milling, pesticides, rubber, perfumery etc. Export potential exists on an international scale. Actually, 800 km<sup>2</sup> earmarked for prospecting, produced reserves of 50,000 tons.
- (v) Limestone prospecting in the Arden deposits which run from East to West of Benin, has already resulted in operational programmes (limestone processing for cement) at Onghoulo with a 500,000 ton capacity. There are also indications of an even higher potential, in quantity and quality, and more easily accessible as well, in the Masse region and to Mono. The two deposits just mentioned can be operated to cover inter alia, the needs of the two clinker grinding mills in the South.
- (vi) As regards gold, research is being conducted more intensively around deposits at present limited in extent, but with seams of 80 grammes per ton.
- (vii) Other minerals such as rutile, chromite, uranium, zinc, lead, nickel etc., give indications which, though not very encouraging judging from the little prospecting already carried out, cannot be regarded as definitive.
- (viii) The conclusion to be drawn from research into sand so far completed, is that there is a large potential which could be used to advantage in the glass-making industry.
- (ix) Sea salt holds out possibilities for meeting the country's needs domestically and also for export.
- (x) In conclusion, it is worth noting that there are quite extensive mineral and thermal waters which are already being exploited.

bilateral aid from the USSR and France and multilateral assistance from EDF and UNDP.

At the same time, a reassessment of the scale of resources for research and training has begun, in terms of a project for building and equipping a national laboratory for analysing geo-chemical samples. It will be larger than the present laboratory.

Pending final evaluation of mineral deposits whose potential could be so great as to make the complete transformation of Benin's economy feasible, medium-term programmes for exploiting these resources are based on a number of projects as follows:

- (i) Off-shore oil with Norway providing technical assistance. Operations will be phased over a ten-year period, using only present known reserves.
- (ii) Phosphates
- (iii) Kaolin
- (iv) Marble with mixed-economy company (Benin-Libya)
- (v) Iron ore
- (vi) The Perma (Atakora) gold deposits. In the next 3 to 5 years, the compilation of Benin's geological map and the completion of soundings and drillings on very clearly identified areas, will make it possible to draw up a more coherent programme for exploiting and upgrading the mining potential.

## A rich tourist potential

Thanks to its rich cultural heritage and the varied beauty of its landscape, Benin is one of the very great West African tourist sites. The territory epitomizes every type of landscape and climate met with in West Africa. From the Atlantic coast to the Sahelian sands, Benin offers the visitor all he can find in Africa. Its coastline is fringed with splendid beaches. Its rivers flowing into the sea and its inland waterways, all of which team with fish, the freshness of its palm groves and the oxygen they give off, its villages set around lakes, the Atakora fortresses, numerous fairs, folkloric and art, national parks, everything that Benin has, makes it possible for anyone who comes to do so to find, after only a few hours journey from Europe, repose and the natural setting for which modern man so desperately yearns.

## TARGETS, STRATEGY AND DEVELOPMENT POLICY FOR THE 1980 DECADE

### 1. Priority targets

The targets and new development strategy stem from the statement made on 30th November, 1972 by Benin's Head of State, about the direction in which the nation intends to move, and from later programmes as expressed in further statements and documents. Development strategy has three basic characteristics:

(i) Independent development. Here the aim is to give direction to the nation's economic development in all sectors, in other words, to give effect to the nation's will, without creating any isolationist trends and with due regard to the interests of foreign partners.

(ii) Planned development. The objective is to control the various socio-economic changes by conscious effort, and induce all workers to reflect seriously on change and how to bring it about, by active participation.

The fundamental aims of development are to get rid of all aspects of underdevelopment, create conditions for a decent life for all on the basis of the work they do, develop their innate abilities, and satisfy their material and socio-cultural needs as fully as possible.

These basic objectives will be secured by a larger number of operational targets and an appropriate development strategy. Priority targets for the decade are as follows:

- (i) Satisfying the essential needs of the population, materially, socially and culturally.
- (ii) Becoming self-sufficient in food.
- (iii) Exploiting and upgrading the country's natural resources.
- (iv) Building up a sound industrial sector.
- (v) Establishing independent foundations for capital accumulation.
- (vi) Setting up a civic and professional training system consonant with development needs.
- (vii) Initiating a programme of harmonious, physical development, as far as the territory is concerned.
- (viii) Providing a technological infrastructure tailored to the country's needs.

In quantitative terms, the target for the 1980 decade is to double GDP in real terms and increase the actual per capita income by at least 150%. If these targets are to be reached, there must be an average growth rate in real terms of approximately 7% p.a.

This is an economic growth target, at once ambitious and necessary. It is ambitious when we remember that the general economic growth trend from 1970-1977, according to UNCTAD statistics was 2.5%. The adoption of this ambitious aim, which means pushing the long-term growth target up to a much higher ceiling, is necessary, if the most distressing problems of underdevelopment are to be solved, in order to meet a high population growth standing at 2.7% p.a. at the present time, and absorb expanding manpower in the years ahead. If the recorded 1970-1977 growth rate is maintained, the result, on the basis of the UNCTAD projections just referred to, will keep the per capita income practically stagnant, since it will show an increase of 1 dollar only for 1977-1990, at 1976 prices. The adoption of this high growth rate also expresses the hopes of the Benin Government and people that the programme devised in the interest of the least advanced countries, will trigger a substantial increase in the flow of the right type of assistance, which is so

necessary if the problems facing this group of countries are to be solved. Accelerated growth also indicates the Benin people's firm resolve to secure development. The chances of attaining this target are now more realistic, in the light of achievements made under the First Development Plan which created favourable conditions for future development. In particular, the substantial achievements recorded in economic and social infrastructure imply that a much larger flow of external aid can now be accommodated.

In adopting a high consolidated development target, the Government of the People's Republic of Benin is not "bowed with the 'fetters' of GDP growth". The steps taken to organize society politically, socially and economically and, above all, the principle of development for and by the people concerned, will ensure that the fruits of accelerated development are distributed generally, and not enjoyed merely by the privileged few.

### 2. Development strategy

To secure development targets, the Government has selected an appropriate strategy, with the following key components:

- (a) Industrialisation to facilitate resource upgrading and back up the rural sector.
- (b) An independent economy is unthinkable without a powerful industrial sector which will gradually reduce dependence on capital goods and facilitate participation in the international division of labour, first at sub-regional level, and gradually on a more extended scale. An industrialisation strategy does not imply neglect of rural development. If the rural sector were to be divided into three sub-sectors, the whole range of activities "up stream" (capital goods industries for integrated rural and agricultural development), agriculture in the conventional meaning of the term, and the whole range of activities "down stream" (food-processing industries, marketing infrastructure), you can easily visualise the contribution a well-structured industrial sector can make to the foundations of modern-day agriculture: logistic support, financial back-up.

For instance, investment in cement production upgrades limestone resources and facilitates the establishment of basic infrastructure for farming and the rural areas (e.g. irrigation systems, farm buildings, rural housing), without having to rely on imported cement which has to be paid for in currency.

- (c) Creating greater confidence in the reliability of food supplies.
- (d) Enhancing Benin's considerable agricultural development potential, and avoid the results of serious upheavals in international food markets, as well as the precarious nature of agricultural production in Benin, it has been suggested that a more determined effort should be made to step up production and reinforce marketing for storage, transport and marketing of farm products.

Bearing in mind the fact that industrialisation even when geared to back up the agricultural development, produces tangible results for the latter only in the middle or long term, more immediate support must be made available in the short or middle term, to enable the agricultural sector to sustain the process of accelerated growth registered in recent years. Having regard to the fact that national industries are short of resources for agricultural production, the temporary increase in imports of such resources is a necessity, until such times as national products can supply the deficiency.

9 (c) Modifying the one-crop export economy and increasing the role of the domestic market.

Benin's export pattern took shape in the colonial era and aimed at meeting the demand of the richer countries. In view of the fragility of such exports and their great dependence on the international market, a policy of export-substitution has been put forward. This will be based on increasing the role of exports enhanced by processing, and on expanding the domestic market by bringing into the monetary economy new sectors of activity with substantial purchasing power. In the long run, greater production of internal goods will help to bring about a greater division of labour in society. The application of this strategy will not weaken Benin's role as a commercial hub, a crossroads of trade. On the contrary, it will strengthen the necessary internal foundations for more thoroughgoing and profitable cooperation in commerce and economics.

### Action to change the pattern of the economy

The overall aim of action envisaged in the 1980 decade is to bring about a radical change in the main features of Benin's economy. At the general level, where there is the greatest degree of consolidation, the principal task is to push the economic growth rate up to a much higher ceiling than would be the case if we relied on the general growth trend as evidenced historically. This means, in effect, substantially increasing per capita income.

To give drive to the economy, its sectoral pattern will have to be overhauled, primarily by building up a sound and diversified secondary sector and by a comparative down-grading of the part played by trade. Intensive industrialisation will facilitate the reduction of the tertiary sector of the economy which, in actual fact, reflects underemployment. Another priority task is increased agricultural productivity through harmonious introduction of simple techniques (e.g. animal draught ploughing), selective mechanisation, and the use of modern farming methods designed to increase output. These steps are absolutely necessary if the disturbing tendency towards a downturn in agricultural output per head of population is to be halted.

Steps will be taken on a massive scale to upgrade human resources, with a view to increasing literacy, training and recycling the manpower required to implement prospective programmes, and also to explore and develop mineral resources, increase energy production and arrest the downward trend in exports.

### Aid as a matter of urgency

Benin's development spans two periods: 1981-1983, which ties in with the Interim Investment Programme (IIP) and what remains of the decade. IIP contains the most urgent projects and programmes, including projects which were not implemented in the First State Plan. It is therefore advisable that IIP projects and programmes should be given high priority in the allocation of external aid. They must be implemented without delay if the programme drawn up for the decade is to be carried through successfully, precisely because this programme is set in the framework of a sequence of coherent activities.

In the case of some of these, finance is a major factor. What is mainly required is assistance designed to secure a more exhaustive utilisation of projects already completed and, following that, increased aid in cover recurrent expenditure. There are four more priority areas: financing the building of wells and drilling operations to provide villages with water supply; a village-wide classroom building programme to step up literacy; the establishment of village and communal health units to back up preventive medicine units at village level; the national reforestation programme.

### Development policies

In carrying out the development strategy outlined in the foregoing pages, attention will also be given to sectoral strategies (on the responsibility of the ministries concerned), and to considerations of organic and structural unity (package projects, subsidies etc.). To mobilise the resources and skills necessary to see this strategy through, the Government will reinforce and amplify the various facilities provided, thus guaranteeing its role as guide and motive force: inspection, conception and functioning of the planning machinery, mechanisms for mobilising domestic resources, pricing policies, etc.

### Rural and agricultural development

In the framework of general development strategy, priority in the 1980 decade will be given to the rural and agricultural sector, which is regarded as the basis of development. The main objectives in rural and agricultural sector development are as follows:

- (i) Ensuring that the country is self-sufficient in food. The attainment of this target will facilitate improvement in levels of nutrition, ensure the availability of food supplies and eliminate food imports. By making self-sufficiency in food a target, the Government has selected the direct approach for solving malnutrition. In other words, it has taken action even before economic development and increased purchasing power led to an effective demand for increase in food products. An up-swing in the availability of food will affect production by improving work capacity, bearing in mind the fact that food is the salient factor in developing the

forces of production. In a context where human toil and labour have not yet been superseded by animal draught ploughing.

(ii) Developing the domestic market. This target will be secured by raising the income of the peasant masses and by increasing their demand for consumer goods of industrial origin. Greater purchasing power for the farmer and the dissemination of new agricultural techniques, will stimulate demand for intermediary and capital goods from national industries. Through the spread of techniques and the use of modern productive methods, food production will increase and this will enable agro-industrial complexes to obtain better supplies of agricultural primary products.

(iii) Helping to finance growth. As a first step, the agricultural sector will retain practically all its surplus to finance investments for self-sustained growth. Increase in farming productivity will facilitate the attainment of a level of agricultural output in excess of domestic market needs. Export earnings from farming will be used to finance the import of capital goods.

(iv) Protecting the natural resources of agriculture and forestry. This objective will be attained by the anti-erosion campaign and the national reforestation programme.

The aim in matters of growth is to reach a target of 4 to 5% p.a. in the course of the decade. This target will be secured through a strategy based on a number of key factors of a horizontal kind.

In accordance with the target for self-sufficiency in food, the agricultural production machinery will be geared in food farming and animal husbandry. The importance of industrial cash crops will not be lost sight of as a supply base for industries and agro-industries, and a means of reducing unfavourable trade balances.

When domestic needs in food have been satisfied, the range of exports will extend to food products. This will provide an escape from the present situation in which there is excessive dependence by the national economy on the state of international markets for particular export commodities. The expansion of agro-industrial complexes will also facilitate a wider range of agricultural exports, including processed food and farm products. With the expansion of the range of agricultural exports, the number of countries receiving such exports will tend to increase. This will reduce Benin's dependence on the traditional markets for the export of agricultural products. Emphasis will be placed on trade with African countries. This should make a substantial contribution to greater regional cooperation in trade between developing countries. By way of enhancing Benin's considerable agricultural natural potential, a technological strategy will be adopted with a view to exerting a healthy influence on production. It will be tailored to the social realities of the rural areas. It is especially important that new techniques should not lead to any break in continuity with those replaced, and should be accessible to all the peasants. Agricultural output will be increased by improving the nation's health, by better farming methods, crop rotation systems and the development

of small-scale water resources for farming. In addition, encouragement will be given to animal draught ploughing and the use of fertiliser. Research in agronomy, agricultural extension and the provision of technical advisory staff will have to be stepped up. Technological change of various kinds must be achieved within a time-scale designed to produce the best possible results.

The technological strategy for agriculture will be backed up by a change in the social patterns governing farming. Settling nomads on land, combining plant production and livestock breeding, moving from a "domestic" or subsistence to a market economy, and developing producers' cooperatives, as well as cooperatives for supply and collection, are the social models best suited to increase agricultural productivity. The state will play a dual role in modifying the social aspects of agriculture. It will participate directly in implementing through State farms, and indirectly by encouraging groupings which pursue what might be termed revolutionary ideas in matters of cooperation, producers' cooperatives, local community farms and institutional produce farms (for schools, universities and public administrations), to offset the deficiencies of traditional farming in its social aspects. Another function of the State will be to give logistic support, for the improvement of traditional farming. Such support will be by way of extension work, the provision of technical supervisory staff, supplying modern farming facilities, improved marketing, storage and transport and the organisation of applied agricultural research tailored to the realities of local life and slanted towards the country's requirements.

Rural development investment arrangements will follow the general lines of Development Strategy, and be both direct and indirect. Direct investment in agriculture will foster the growing food crops, live stock farming and water supplies. Indirect investment will affect the sub-sector of resources for agricultural production (tools, simple machines, fertiliser, pesticides and food-processing industries). Finally, infrastructure and transport development will help open up production zones and increase the effects of direct investment in the rural sector.

Having regard to the importance of the labour factor in rural life and the low level of techniques, a special effort will have to be made as regards the "absorption of development". This effort will seek, among other things, to urge in no uncertain terms, the need for a better balanced diet, better drinking water supplies and investments in the health and education sector, the aim being to put an end to the disparities that exist in these areas between country and town.

The financial outlook required to reach a 4 to 5% growth rate is put at CFA fr. 210 billion. It includes agriculture in the strict sense of the term, livestock farming, fishing and rural infrastructure development. The action planned for rural development involves a number of major programmes which will be implemented on the basis of a series of specific and "ad hoc" projects.



# BÉNIN

## "Prêt pour la Révolution! La Lutte continue."



S.E. Comandant Mathieu KEROUKOU Président de la République Populaire du Bénin

### Potentiel minier prometteur

Les ressources minières du Bénin sont insuffisamment connues. Les quelques prospections effectuées aboutissent à des résultats qui, quoiqu'incertains, permettent d'augurer favorablement des possibilités pour le Bénin d'asseoir son autosuffisance et de développer ses exportations.

À ce jour, les résultats des prospections du pays peuvent être résumés comme suit :

- en ce qui concerne le pétrole, on neuf puits forés (off shore), cinq ont donné des résultats positifs et les estimations des réserves s'élèvent à une quarantaine de millions de barils.
- Pour ce qui est du phosphate, les gisements découverts au Nord du pays ont une teneur moyenne de 20 à 32% et les réserves s'élèvent à 2,5 millions de tonnes. Les travaux en cours permettent de situer, entre 5 et 6 millions de tonnes, le potentiel existant qui pourra ainsi répondre aux besoins du développement agricole (superphosphate) et à une partie des besoins des pays voisins.
- Pour le minerai de fer, les réserves situées essentiellement au Nord du pays ont été estimées à 500 millions de tonnes, de teneur moyenne. Elles permettent de répondre à la demande du pays et des pays voisins.
- Quant aux gisements de kaolin, ils se situent à un niveau supérieur aux besoins locaux (céramique, papeterie, etc...) ; un potentiel d'exportation existe au niveau international. En effet, sur 800 km<sup>2</sup> de surface, on a découvert une superficie de 0,2 km<sup>2</sup> à dominer 50.000 tonnes de réserves.

● Pour ce qui est de calcine, les prospections de gisement d'Arjan, qui traverse le Bénin d'Est en Ouest, ont abouti déjà à des programmes opérationnels (traitement du calcin de caïre pour les besoins de la clientèle d'une capacité de 500.000 tonnes à Ongholo) elles indiquent de plus un potentiel supérieur, en quantité et en qualité, et d'accès plus facile, dans la région de Massé et dans la Mono. Ces derniers gisements pourraient être exploités, notamment pour les besoins des deux usines de broyage de clinker au Sud.

● pour ce qui est de l'or, les recherches continuent d'une manière plus intensive autour des gisements de porphyre pour l'instant modeste, et dont les filons offrent des teneurs de 80 grammes par tonne, alors que la norme de rentabilité se situe à 5 g la tonne.

● quant aux autres minéraux (molybdène, chrome, uranium, zinc, plomb, nickel, etc...), les indications existent, mais ne permettent pas de considérer comme définitives.

En ce qui concerne le sel, les recherches qui sont actuellement en cours ont permis d'identifier un potentiel important pour être valorisé dans l'industrie du verre.

● quant au sel marin, des possibilités existent pour couvrir les besoins du marché intérieur et pour l'exportation.

● Il est à noter, enfin, que l'importance des eaux minérales et thermales est telle qu'elle a donné lieu à l'exploitation.

Les programmes de prospections minières qui vont se poursuivre, d'une manière plus systématique et plus intensive, permettront de définir, à court terme, un programme opérationnel de forages.

Une carte géologique au 1/200.000 pour tout le pays va être effectuée sur la base des travaux déjà réalisés avec des concours techniques opérant dans le cadre bilatéral (URSS, France, Roumanie) et multilatéral (FED, PNUD).

Parallèlement, le redimensionnement des moyens de recherche et de formation est entrepris (projet de construction et d'équipement d'un laboratoire national chargé d'analyses d'échantillons géochimiques, plus important que le laboratoire actuel).

En attendant l'évaluation définitive des gisements miniers dont le potentiel pourrait être tel qu'il permettrait de transformer complètement l'économie du pays, les programmes à moyen terme de mise en valeur se sont orientés vers les projets suivants :

- l'exploitation du pétrole offshore réalisée avec l'assistance technique norvégienne. Elle sera amorcée sur une dizaine d'années avec les seules réserves connues actuellement.
- l'exploitation du phosphate.
- l'exploitation du kaolin par les soins d'une société d'économie mixte (Bénin-Libye).
- l'exploitation du minerai de fer.
- l'exploitation des gisements d'or de Penna (Atakora).

Dans les 3 à 5 années à venir, la confection de la carte géologique et l'achèvement des sondages et forages sur les zones identifiées d'une manière précise, permettront d'élaborer un programme plus conséquent d'exploitation et de valorisation du potentiel minier.

### Potentiel touristique riche

Le Bénin, par son riche héritage culturel, par la beauté et la variété de ses paysages, figure parmi les très grandes régions touristiques d'Afrique. Sur le territoire béninois se trouvent toutes les variétés de paysages et de climats rencontrés en Afrique de l'Ouest. Des côtes atlantiques aux sables du Sahel, le Bénin offre au visiteur tout ce qu'il peut trouver en Afrique. Son climat littoral est bordé de plages superbes. Ses fleuves et rivières poissonneuses, la fraîcheur et l'oxygène de ses palmiers, ses villages-lacustres, ses châteaux forts de l'Atakora, sa faune abondante, sont autant de facteurs qui, sans doute, ont attiré au Bénin, par le passé, à quelques heures de l'Europe, le calme et le cadre naturel que recherche l'homme moderne.

Au Sud, le littoral et longé par un chapelet de lagunes qui offrent un milieu aquatique très propice aux promenades, la nuit comme le jour, à la pêche, au ski nautique. La couverture végétale, faite de mangroves et de cocotiers, est parcourue par le route des péches de Cotonou à Ouidah. Nombre d'autres motifs d'attraction, de natures très diverses, s'y rencontrent également tels que :

● le lac Nokoué et ses multiples villages touristiques (Ganvié, So-Awa), les villages toffins.

● la villa traditionnelle d'Ouidah, haut-lieu du culte vodou, siège du temple Dango.

● le lac Ahémé avec ses abords pittoresques et les eaux thermales de bopa et Possonomé.

● les plages de Grand-Popo avec les eaux miroitantes du Mono aux bouches du "ROY".

● les impressionnantes chutes d'Adjarala.

● les eaux poissonneuses de la lagune de Porto-Novo qui communique avec le lac Nokoué par le canal Tchéouba constituant une voie de promenade paisible entre les villes de Cotonou et de Lagos.

À ces richesses naturelles s'ajoute la richesse du patrimoine culturel de la région. L'artisanat d'art y est très florissant. L'histoire et le passé de tous les peuples de la région sont représentés à travers les sculptures, les statuettes et les masques.

Au Centre, la ville d'Abomey et son palais constituent le haut-lieu de l'histoire nationale. Le musée, avec ses salles et tentures, conserve les reliques de la dynastie des Ouhébadja. Cependant, à Cotonou et à Benin, les touristes peuvent visiter les valeurs artistiques de la région (cuviers, sculptures sur bois, etc...).

Le socle précolonial abrite de nombreux villages qui se nichent dans les collines (relief résiduel) de Dassa-Zoumè, Savé et Savalou. Dans cette zone de transition entre le Nord et le Sud du Bénin, les agglomérations accrochées au magma de granit témoignent du souci qui avait été celui des futaies, Tchabé et Matis pour se défendre contre les royaumes esclavagistes du Sud et du Nord.

Au Nord de la latitude de Parakou, sur le chemin de Djougou, les monts Dioulassé offrent au touriste des diadèmes très fastueux.

Au Nord, dans le Borgou, le folklore barbare des royaumes de Parakou et Nikki galvanise toute la culture du peuple barba qui les frontières coloniales n'ont pu contenir.

Dans l'Atakora la nature et l'homme accueillent le touriste désireux de voir, au Nord, dans le Borgou, le folklore barbare des royaumes de Parakou et Nikki galvanise toute la culture du peuple barba qui les frontières coloniales n'ont pu contenir.

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production, est une des manifestations de l'esprit créateur des larges masses laborieuses de nos villes et campagnes pour que, face à une demande sociale croissante d'éducation, une réponse pédagogique adaptée aux réalités nationales puisse permettre le développement démocratique et la réduction de coût de cette éducation.

Il faut noter aussi qu'au niveau local (province, district) dans le cadre du "compter-sur-soi" collectif, une mobilisation importante de la population pour des tâches de construction nationale est enregistrée depuis quelques années.

C'est ainsi que des complexes sanitaires et sociaux, des salles de réunions, des écoles, des boutiques populaires, de petits barrages, des retenues d'eau, etc... ont été réalisés en bonne partie par le recours aux investissements humains, à l'intérieur du pays, contribuant ainsi à une réponse plus économique aux besoins essentiels des masses laborieuses.

Un système de solution technique et financier plus efficace de la part de l'Etat, des provinces, des pays amis et des organisations internationales, permettra d'optimiser la réalisation d'autres structures sociales par les intérêts eux-mêmes.

OBJECTIFS, STRATEGIE ET POLITIQUE DE DEVELOPPEMENT POUR LA DECENNIE 1980

Objectifs prioritaires

Les objectifs et la stratégie nouvelle de développement découlent du discours de l'orientation nationale du Chef de l'Etat en date du 10 novembre 1972, et des discours et documents, programmes ultérieurs.

Trois aspects fondamentaux caractérisent cette stratégie de développement :

● développement démocratique, qui vise à une distribution juste des bénéfices de la croissance à tous les habitants et à l'augmentation, à bref délai, du niveau de vie en vue du minimum vital.

● développement indépendant, qui a pour objectif l'orientation des évolutions de l'économie nationale, soit le résultat de la volonté nationale, sans toutefois compromettre l'indépendance et le respect des intérêts des partenaires étrangers.

● développement planifié, qui vise à une maîtrise consciente des transformations économiques et sociales et une participation active de tous les travailleurs dans la conception et la mise en œuvre de ces transformations.

Les trois fondements de développement sont d'élaborer les politiques de développement, de créer des conditions permettant à chacun de vivre décemment de son travail et d'épanouir ses capacités personnelles, et de satisfaire, aussi pleinement que possible, ses besoins matériels et socio-culturels.

Ces buts fondamentaux ont été réalisés par l'intermédiaire d'objectifs plus opérationnels et par une stratégie appropriée de développement.

Les objectifs prioritaires pour la décennie sont :

● satisfaction des besoins matériels, socio-culturels essentiels de la population

● réalisation de l'autosuffisance alimentaire

● exploitation et valorisation des ressources naturelles du pays

● construction d'un secteur industriel solide

● construction de bases autonomes d'enseignement

● création d'un système de formation civique et professionnelle répondant aux besoins de développement

● développement spatial harmonieux du territoire

● constitution de bases technologiques adaptées aux besoins du pays

On se pose, pour la décennie 1980, l'objectif quantitatif de doubler le Produit intérieur brut en termes réels, et d'augmenter au moins d'une fois et demi le revenu réel par habitant. Pour atteindre ces objectifs, il serait nécessaire d'atteindre le taux moyen de croissance réelle d'environ 7% par an.

Cet objectif de croissance économique est à la fois ambitieux et nécessaire. Il est ambitieux en tenant compte de la tendance historique de la croissance économique basée sur la période 1970-1977 qui s'élevait selon les calculs effectués par la CNUCED à 2,5%. L'adoption de cet objectif de croissance ambitieux, qui consiste à pousser le taux de croissance à long terme à un plafond beaucoup plus élevé, est nécessaire pour résoudre les problèmes de sous-développement les plus douloureux pour faire face à une forte croissance démographique qui, à présent, s'élève à 2,7% par an, et pour absorber le volume croissant de la main-d'œuvre dans les années à venir. La poursuite du taux de croissance historique de la période 1970-1977 aurait pour conséquence, selon les prévisions de la CNUCED déjà mentionnées, stagnation du revenu par habitant qui augmenterait (au prix de 1976) d'un seul dollar au cours de la période 1977-1990.

L'adoption de cet objectif de croissance élevé exprime également les aspirations du Gouvernement et du peuple béninois que le Programme, en faveur des pays les moins avancés, apportera une augmentation substantielle des flux d'assistance indispensables et appropriés à la solution des problèmes rencontrés dans ce groupe de pays.

La croissance accélérée est, en même temps, une expression du peuple béninois. Les possibilités d'atteindre cet objectif deviennent plus réalistes à la lumière des réalisations du premier Plan de développement. Ce Plan a créé les conditions favorables au développement futur. En particulier, l'annonce des grandes réalisations dans le domaine de l'infrastructure économique et sociale permet d'accueillir, dès maintenant, un flux beaucoup plus grand d'assistance extérieure.

En adoptant l'objectif synthétique élevé de développement le Gouvernement de la République populaire du Bénin se guide par le "réalisme" de la structure économique de l'économie, surtout par la construction d'un secteur secondaire solide et diversifié et par la diminution relative du rôle du commerce. L'industrialisation

### Stratégie de développement

Pour réaliser les objectifs de développement, le Gouvernement a choisi une stratégie appropriée qui se compose des éléments-clés suivants :

Industrialisation permettant de valoriser les ressources du pays et de donner un appui au secteur rural

Une économie indépendante ne peut se concevoir sans un secteur industriel puissant, capable de diminuer progressivement la dépendance du pays vis-à-vis des biens de production importés et des équipements de base pour la réalisation des programmes envisagés, et aussi pour explorer et développer les ressources minières, augmenter la production d'énergie et freiner la tendance à la baisse de la production agricole par habitant.

Des schèmes massifs seront poursuivis pour valoriser les ressources humaines et, en priorité, pour augmenter le taux d'alphabétisation, pour former et perfectionner la main-d'œuvre nécessaire à la réalisation des programmes envisagés, et aussi pour explorer et développer les ressources minières, augmenter la production d'énergie et freiner la tendance à la baisse de la production agricole par habitant.

Le programme de développement du Bénin est échelonné sur deux périodes : la période 1981-1983 qui correspond à celle du Programme intérimaire d'investissement, et la période restante de la décennie. Le programme intérimaire d'investissement contient les projets et programmes les plus urgents parmi lesquels on retrouve quelques projets qui ont pu être exécutés pendant le premier Plan d'Etat. Il est donc souhaitable que les projets et les programmes contenus dans le Programme intérimaire d'investissement reçoivent une grande priorité dans l'octroi de l'aide extérieure. Leur exécution rapide est nécessaire pour la réussite du programme de la décennie, et étant donné que celui-ci est échelonné dans le cadre d'une séquence d'actions coordonnées.

Il y a certains types d'actions dont le financement a une grande importance. Il s'agit tout d'abord, de l'assistance visant à une utilisation plus complète des projets déjà achevés, ensuite, une assistance accrue pour couvrir les dépenses de fonctionnement.

Quatre autres domaines sont prioritaires : le financement de la construction des puits et forages pour alimenter tous les villages en eau potable, la construction de chemins de terre, la construction de l'électricité, l'alphabétisation, la construction des unités villageoises de santé et des unités communales de santé pour renforcer les services de la médecine préventive au niveau des villages, le programme national de reboisement.

Politiques de développement

La stratégie de développement, présentée dans les paragraphes précédents, sera mise en œuvre en faisant référence aussi bien à des stratégies sectorielles (sous la responsabilité des ministères intéressés) qu'à des considérations de cohérence organique et structurelle (groupes de projets, filières, etc...).

Afin de mobiliser les ressources et les compétences nécessaires à la réalisation de cette stratégie, le Gouvernement renforcera et complètera les différents moyens d'action qui garantiront son rôle dirigeant et moteur, conception et fourniture de l'appareil planificateur, mécanismes de mobilisation des ressources intérieures, politique des prix, etc....

Bien entendu, ces moyens sont largement conditionnés à la fois par le caractère socialiste et planifié du développement, par le rôle prédominant du secteur informel et de subsistance, et par le caractère ouvert de l'économie du pays.

Le développement rural et agricole

Dans le cadre de la stratégie générale de développement, une place prioritaire pour la décennie 1980 sera accordée au secteur rural et agricole qui est considéré comme la base de développement. Les objectifs principaux, dans le développement du secteur rural et agricole, sont les suivants :

● Assurer la sécurité et l'autosuffisance alimentaire du pays. La réalisation de cet objectif nutritionnel de la population, d'assurer la sécurité d'approvisionnement alimentaire et d'éliminer les importations des produits alimentaires.

En adoptant l'objectif d'autosuffisance alimentaire, le Gouvernement a choisi l'approche directe pour résoudre le problème de la malnutrition, c'est-à-dire avant même que le processus de développement économique et la croissance des revenus puissent augmenter la demande effective de la population ou biens alimentaires.

L'augmentation des disponibilités alimentaires aura aussi des effets positifs à travers l'augmentation de la capacité de travail, étant donné qu'elle est l'élément principal de développement des forces productives au moment où la culture atténuée et la mécanisation n'ont pas encore remplacé le travail humain.

● Développer la marche intérieure. Cet objectif sera réalisé par l'augmentation du revenu des masses paysannes et l'accroissement de leur demande de biens de consommation d'origine industrielle.

Le pouvoir d'achat accru des producteurs agricoles et la diffusion des techniques nouvelles dans l'agriculture encourageront la demande de biens intermédiaires et d'équipements faits aux industries nationales. A la suite de la diffusion des techniques et de l'utilisation des moyens de production agricole permettra de mieux approvisionner les complexes agro-industriels en matières premières agricoles.

● Participer au financement de la croissance. Le secteur agricole retiendra, dans une première étape, la quasi-totalité de son surplus pour financer ses investissements afin d'achever la croissance auto-entretenue.

L'augmentation de la productivité du travail agricole permettra d'atteindre un niveau de production agricole dépassant les besoins du marché intérieur. Les revenus des exportations agricoles seront utilisés pour le financement d'importations de biens d'équipements.

● Protéger les ressources naturelles de l'agriculture et de la sylvikulture. Cet objectif sera réalisé à travers la mise en œuvre d'un plan programme est indispensable en raison du rendement très bas des cultures, inférieur à la moyenne africaine.

Les résultats, déjà obtenus dans le domaine de la recherche agronomique, montrent qu'il existe une marge considérable entre les rendements traditionnels et ceux que l'on peut obtenir en utilisant les méthodes modernes recommandées par les centres de recherche.

Le noyau du programme de la recherche agronomique sera le sous-programme semencier national qui représente une approche intégrée et d'ensemble dans le domaine de la production agricole, les actions dispersées et non coordonnées. Le coût du sous-programme semencier atteindra environ 4 milliards de FCFA pendant la période de 5 ans, avant de devenir une opération auto-financée.

Le coût du programme entier de recherche agronomique sera beaucoup plus vaste et atteindra, pendant la décennie, environ 12 milliards de FCFA.

Programme de la formation et de la vulgarisation agricole

Pour mettre en pratique les résultats de la recherche agronomique, il faut améliorer les méthodes culturelles, des efforts accrus, dans le domaine de la formation et de la vulgarisation agricole, seront nécessaires.

L'initiation des masses paysannes à appliquer les méthodes culturales modernes est très difficile à cause d'une certaine méfiance, de l'ignorance, de leur isolement, et du manque de ressources pour réaliser les améliorations conseillées. Pour mener à bien cette action de vulgarisation, on interviendra à travers la formation des paysans par l'éducation, l'encadrement et l'animation en milieu rural et par l'encadrement, mobilisation et organisation des masses rurales, création et amélioration des structures d'accueil en milieu rural, amélioration de la nutrition et de l'hygiène, alphabétisation fonctionnelle au niveau rural, extension et introduction de cultures rentables, vulgarisation et introduction de variétés à haut rendement, généralisation de l'assolement, de la rotation des cultures, amélioration de l'irrigation, de la fertilisation et de la protection des plantes, généralisation de la culture atténuée, amélioration de l'outillage agricole, formation d'artisans ruraux, production de géniteurs, amélioration des pargues, intégration de l'agriculture avec l'élevage.

Le coût total du programme de formation et de vulgarisation agricole est estimé à 15.000 millions de FCFA.

Production minière

Outre le pétrole, le Bénin possède des gisements d'autres minéraux. Le potentiel minier n'est pas encore bien étudié, et pour les gisements déjà découverts, il n'y a pas d'études de faisabilité. L'objectif, à bref et à moyen terme, sera donc d'intensifier la recherche minière et la préparation d'études de faisabilité détaillées.

On peut, sur la base des recherches déjà faites, énumérer quelques projets de production minière qui seraient mis en œuvre dans la deuxième moitié de la décennie, à condition que les études plus approfondies n'appellent pas de changements importants. Il s'agit de :

● l'exploitation des gisements de phosphate

● l'exploitation des gisements d'or

● l'exploitation des gisements de marbre

● l'exploitation des gisements de kaolin

Les dossiers de ces projets, n'existant pas à l'étape actuelle, l'assistance demandée consiste surtout à exécuter les études de faisabilité.

Equipement et transports

La stratégie générale de développement du Bénin met l'accent sur le maintien de grands équilibres économiques. C'est surtout l'équilibre entre les activités directement productives et le développement de l'infrastructure économique de base du pays qui est essentielle pour l'apport des goulots d'étranglement, pour accroître les effets des investissements directement productifs, et pour promouvoir un développement harmonieux. Dans la situation spécifique actuelle du pays, les investissements en infrastructures ont une importance particulière pour valoriser sa position géographique de carrefour commercial. Ils sont aussi indispensables pour assurer la satisfaction des besoins essentiels de la population, surtout en ce qui concerne l'habitat, l'urbanisme et l'approvisionnement en eau.

Les objectifs dans les domaines de l'équipement et des transports sont les suivants :

● Appuyer la réalisation des objectifs du développement rural et industriel par le développement du transport et la réduction de son coût

Les besoins financiers, nécessaires pour atteindre le taux de croissance de 4 à 4,5% sont estimés à 210 milliards de FCFA. Ces besoins comprennent l'agriculture au sens strict, l'élevage, les forêts, la pêche et le développement des infrastructures rurales.

Les actions, dans le domaine du développement rural, sont groupées en plusieurs grands programmes qui seront réalisés à travers un grand nombre de projets spécifiques et ponctuels.

Programme de la recherche agronomique

L'objectif principal de ce programme est d'augmenter la production agricole du Bénin par la recherche des méthodes culturales les plus appropriées, l'augmentation de la productivité du matériel végétal et animal, l'amélioration de la qualité des semences et des races et leur adaptation aux conditions du Bénin.

La note contre les maladies et l'élimination des pertes après la récolte. La mise en œuvre d'un tel programme est indispensable en raison du rendement très bas des cultures, inférieur à la moyenne africaine.

Les résultats, déjà obtenus dans le domaine de la recherche agronomique, montrent qu



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## BUSINESS BRIEFS

### DeLorean Plant in Belfast to Close

BELFAST — Hopes for rescue of the DeLorean Motor assembly line here dimmed Monday when government-appointed receivers announced the insolvent factory will be closed on May 31, and 1,500 workers paid off Friday.

The receivers, Sir Kenneth Cork and Paul Shewell, said there is no alternative to closure but the assembly line could reopen if any late proposals provide a sound basis for doing so. Britain pumped nearly \$14 million into the plant, where production got under way in early 1981.

The closure follows the withdrawal of an offer by a New York real estate firm to invest \$35 million in the struggling maker of gull-winged, stainless-steel sports cars selling for \$25,000 and built especially for the U.S. market. H.J. Kallikow & Co. Inc. said Friday its offer to inject fresh capital into the DeLorean plant had been rejected by the British receivers.

### Talbot, Iran Renew Auto Contract

COVENTRY, England — Talbot, the British car manufacturer owned by Peugeot of France, has renewed a contract with Iran to export over 65,000 kits to build cars, a company spokesman said Monday. Sources said the contract would be worth about \$270 million yearly, and it has given a big boost to Talbot, whose plant has been working a one-day week since January.

The company originally signed a contract with Iran to provide car kits in 1967, but because of the Gulf war its exports had virtually ceased. A shipment last week was the first since October, 1981. The kits are used at a plant south of Tehran to manufacture the Peykan car.

### Trans-Gabon Railway Adds Britons

LONDON — Taylor Woodrow International and George Wimpey International are the two British members of a European consortium that will build the second phase of the Trans-Gabon Railway, Taylor Woodrow announced Monday. The firm said the agreement is worth about \$170 million.

The work is to be completed by mid-August, 1987, and is on the western end of the railway from Boue to Franceville. Taylor Woodrow and Wimpey each hold an 11 percent stake in the consortium for the project, Taylor Woodrow said.

### Hong Kong Bank Building Is Sold

HONG KONG — The Hong Kong Land Co. said Monday it will acquire the Bank of Canton building in the central district here for 500 million Hong Kong dollars (\$86 million). This amounts to about 50,000 dollars a square foot.

The Bank of Canton will provide financing for a portion of a planned redevelopment, which is being undertaken in conjunction with two other developments nearby. The developments will produce a total of about 340,000 square feet of office and retail space, the company said.

### Nippon Telephone Opens Firm

TOKYO — Japan's state-owned Nippon Telegraph & Telephone said it will establish a company here with Japanese commercial banks and other interests to design and manufacture its own custom large-scale integrated circuits.

The new company will be capitalized at 100-million yen (\$430,000), of which 50 percent will be put up by the telephone company. The balance will be put up by nine major banks and companies related to the telephone company, the announcement said.

### Ford's Australian Profit Up Sharply

SYDNEY — Ford of Australia Monday announced a record profit of \$52 million for 1981. The result marked a strong recovery from the \$300,000 profit for 1980 and outstripped the previous record of \$32.7 million posted by Ford's main Australian rival, General Motors-Holden, in 1969.

### Japanese Plan Small Video Cassette

TOKYO — A group of 12 Japanese firms said Monday they plan to market a compact video cassette as the first step towards a mini-video system. The new cassette is about a fourth the size of a conventional videotape.

The cassette has a 20-minute recording and playing time and can be used on conventional video recorders with an adaptor, the announcement said. No decision on the timing for marketing the cassette or a mini-system has been made.

## Prices on NYSE Mixed In Sluggish Dealings

From Agency Dispatches  
NEW YORK — Prices on the New York Stock Exchange rallied in the last hour Monday to close mixed in very sluggish trading. Gains in broker loan rates by several banks lent some strength near the close.

The Dow Jones industrial average was down slightly most of the day but ended with a gain of 0.48 point to 836.38. Declines led advances by around 800 to 570.

Volume slumped to 38.7 million shares from 45.3 million Friday. Monday's volume was the lowest since Feb. 12, when a holiday kept many traders away.

Last week, the industrial average fell 21.88 points, despite Friday's 3.42-point gain.

Analysts said the slow trading over the past week reflects uncertainty about the course of interest rates, the economy, the U.S. budget deficit and the Falkland Islands battle.

Also weighing on the market was the unexpectedly large rise of \$2.3 billion in the M-1 measure of money supply for the week ended May 12. Although there is speculation that the Federal Reserve has relaxed monetary policy, analysts said investors want to see a decline in interest rates before committing funds to the market.

A sign of lower rates came late in the day, when Manufacturers Hanover, Bankers Trust and Continental Illinois announced cuts in the rates they charge to brokers on loans using securities as collateral to 14.75 percent from 15.5 percent.

### Markets Closed

All financial markets were closed Monday in Canada for a holiday.

## CURRENCY RATES

Interbank exchange rates for May 24, 1982, excluding bank service charges.

	\$	£	D.M.	S.F.	Y.F.	HK\$	N.Y.	S.P.	D.R.
Amsterdam	2.55	4.65	11.15	6.77	0.004	16.75	5.89	138.95	23.80
Bombay	2.55	4.65	11.15	6.77	0.004	16.75	5.89	138.95	23.80
Buenos Aires	2.55	4.65	11.15	6.77	0.004	16.75	5.89	138.95	23.80
Calcutta	2.55	4.65	11.15	6.77	0.004	16.75	5.89	138.95	23.80
Colon	2.55	4.65	11.15	6.77	0.004	16.75	5.89	138.95	23.80
Hankow	2.55	4.65	11.15	6.77	0.004	16.75	5.89	138.95	23.80
Hong Kong	2.55	4.65	11.15	6.77	0.004	16.75	5.89	138.95	23.80
London	2.55	4.65	11.15	6.77	0.004	16.75	5.89	138.95	23.80
Lyons	2.55	4.65	11.15	6.77	0.004	16.75	5.89	138.95	23.80
Manila	2.55	4.65	11.15	6.77	0.004	16.75	5.89	138.95	23.80
Paris	2.55	4.65	11.15	6.77	0.004	16.75	5.89	138.95	23.80
Shanghai	2.55	4.65	11.15	6.77	0.004	16.75	5.89	138.95	23.80
Singapore	2.55	4.65	11.15	6.77	0.004	16.75	5.89	138.95	23.80
Taipei	2.55	4.65	11.15	6.77	0.004	16.75	5.89	138.95	23.80
Tokyo	2.55	4.65	11.15	6.77	0.004	16.75	5.89	138.95	23.80
Yokohama	2.55	4.65	11.15	6.77	0.004	16.75	5.89	138.95	23.80

## A Sound Market In Home Stereo Hits Sour Note

By Daniel Shannon  
New York Times Service  
NEW YORK — As surely as the needle tracks the groove, the stereo component industry followed a path of rising sales and profits during the 1970s. Then sales went into a three-year slump, which is worsening.

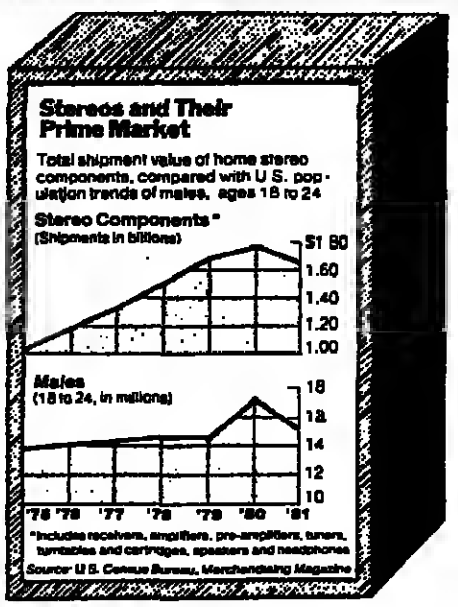
Many factors have contributed to the industry's recession:

- Intense competition from different electronic entertainment products, most notably video.
- Shrinkage of the key 18-to-24 age group, the major market. The makers of such brands as Pioneer, Technics, Fisher, Sony and JVC rode the demographic wave of steadily increasing numbers of males in this age group, but that wave crested in 1980 at 17.3 million and began a downward trend, hitting 15.2 million for 1981.
- Tightening of consumer credit and the general recessionary economy.

"Another problem," asserted James Twerdahl, executive vice president of James B. Lansing Sound, "manufacturers of JBL loudspeakers, 'is that there aren't very many second-time buyers, because audio products don't have built-in obsolescence.'"

As the youth market began to decline, a host of other electronic entertainment products were becoming available. Video games and personal computers, according to the industry, have made substantial inroads into home stereo. Meanwhile, audio-related products — notably car stereos, micro-component systems and Walkman-scale personal electronics products — scored deep cuts into the home audio industry.

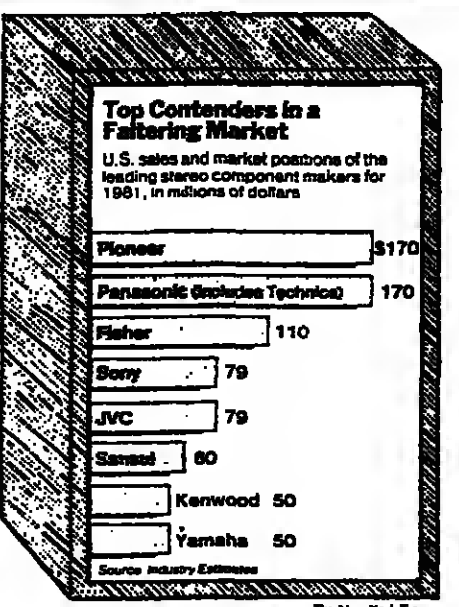
The problems were compounded by the reluctance of the dominant Japanese manufacturers — Pioneer, Panasonic subsidiary of Matsushita Electric, Sanyo's Fisher, Sony, JVC, Sansui Electric, Kenwood, Yamaha and others — to limit their output.



Consumers are probably the only real winners, since audio dealers traditionally operate on margins close to cost, regardless of market demand. "Those dealers are crazy," said David Karson, vice president of sales for Fisher. "They'll buy a turntable for \$140 and sell it for \$150. During a slump, like now, they'll pay \$90 for the same turntable and sell it for \$100. What's in it for them? They're absolutely nuts."

The stereo component industry, which scored annual volume gains in sales to dealers of 15 percent and 20 percent until demand crested in 1978, has seen that volume decline by approximately 10 percent a year since 1979. The industry may do worse, according to industry analysts, who predict a 15 percent decrease in U.S. sales volume for 1982.

Currently, manufacturer-to-dealer sales are in the \$1.4 billion range, with the retail market value of shipments last year in excess of \$1.6 billion. And that figure does not include another \$173.4 million in stereo tape decks.



With a dealer base of approximately 8,000, many with multiple retail outlets, the stereo component manufacturers have flooded the market with high-quality audio equipment. While consumer sales fell about 10 percent last year, the value of shipments to dealers was down just 2.8 percent.

The present state of the stereo market is not unlike the evolution undergone by other industries — television, automobiles, tires — in which technological differences and brand distinctions become less clear indicators of a company's superiority and purchasing is based on price. Two or three years ago, an audio component system which included a quality turntable, tape deck, receiver and a set of speakers sold in the United States for anywhere from \$600 to \$1,200 at retail. Today, comparable systems retail from \$400 to \$1,000.

Perhaps the hardest hit has been JVC, which reported losses last year of \$7 million on sales to dealers of about \$170 million, according to one industry executive. A new Pioneer (Continued on Page 13, Col. 3)

## AEG Presses Bonn For Emergency Aid

By Donald Nordberg  
Reuters  
FRANKFURT — AEG-Telefunken said Monday that it is urgently seeking government aid and new partnerships to cope with huge losses expected this year.

A spokesman for the electrical products maker, West Germany's eighth largest employer, said AEG is holding talks with several companies, including General Electric of Britain. (The British company is unrelated to the U.S. company of the same name.)

Talks also have been held with the finance and economics ministries in Bonn, he said.

AEG's operating loss this year is expected to total 400 million to 450 million Deutsche marks, compared with 650 million DM in 1981.

Heinz Duerr, management board chairman of AEG, met Economics Minister Otto Lambdorst and Finance Minister Manfred Lahnstein last week for a review of the company's finances, the spokesman said. Also at the meeting was Hans Friederichs, a former economics minister who is now management board spokesman of Dresdner Bank, the leader of the 24-bank group that rescued AEG at the end of 1979 and last year wrote off 240 million DM of AEG debt.

The discussions in Bonn centered on possible government guarantees for credits that AEG needs for its export business. Financial analysts said that the company apparently wanted to get enough of this year's rescue package together to offer some promise to shareholders at the annual meeting in Berlin June 22.

A meeting of the company's banks is scheduled for June 14. Bankers say AEG already has asked them to forgo debt repayments this year, probably of the same size as last year. There also have been reports that AEG wants the banks to inject more capital. In late 1979, the one Swiss and 23 West German members of the group provided 900 million DM of capital. The banks now hold 50 percent of AEG's shares.

Market Rumors  
According to rumors on the Frankfurt stock exchange, a partnership with GE of Britain would involve AEG's business in industrial technology, one of the few areas in which AEG is profitable.

GE would take a 49 percent stake in this portion of the business, and AEG would hold the rest, according to the speculation. The AEG spokesman declined to discuss the matter directly but said that in any of the plans under consideration AEG would want a majority stake.

The accord could be modeled on last year's creation of a venture that brought Mannesmann, Robert Bosch and other West German companies into AEG's lucrative telecommunications business. That agreement raised 430 million DM and, along with the debt concessions, allowed AEG to break even last year.

## Oil Importers Pledge To Keep Conserving

PARIS — Energy ministers from oil-importing nations agreed Monday to press ahead with conservation measures despite the weakening of OPEC over the past year.

West Germany's economic minister, Otto Lambdorst, said that experts from the International Energy Agency warned ministers from the 21 countries that belong to the agency of the danger of complacency about oil supplies.

"We agreed that efforts to save oil and change to other energy sources must be pursued to spite of the recent oversupply and relatively low market prices," Mr. Lambdorst told reporters.

The deputy U.S. energy secretary, Kenneth Davis, said at the agency's annual ministerial meeting that the industrial countries have made great progress in reducing their dependence on oil imports. But he said the countries remain vulnerable to sudden supply disruptions.

The ministers were examining long-term strategies to deal with the possibility of such disruptions. Japan and Italy called for closer ties between OPEC nations and members of the IEA, but the United States and West Germany firmly rejected the idea, officials said. Most IEA countries favored contacts with OPEC nations but contended that formal links between the two groups would achieve little.

The meeting came three days after OPEC ministers decided in Quito, Ecuador, to maintain their benchmark price at \$34 a barrel and retain limits on production in an effort to bolster the price. The production limits, imposed last March, have been credited with preventing a drop in oil prices.

OPEC experts have predicted a gradual revival in demand for OPEC oil to between 20 million and 22 million barrels a day by year-end from a recent 20-year low of 16 million.

IEA officials said that oil demand in countries that belong to the group probably will fall 6 percent to the current quarter from the year-earlier level.

But the officials said they expect some seasonal rise in demand for oil in the third quarter as inventories dwindle and winter stocks are built up. They said that oil consumption by IEA members could rise by 500,000 barrels a day to 1983 from this year's level but that any stronger revival in demand depends entirely on a recovery from recession, particularly to the United States.

"It is true that the pressure is off the OPEC price now, but it could easily come back again," one official said.

Last week, crude oil prices on the Rotterdam spot market topped \$34 for the first time since January. Prices in New York and London for heating oil and gasoline futures both rose sharply at the end of last week.

Underlining the pricing trend, Petroleum Intelligence Weekly reported Monday that demand for oil appears to be steadying after falling sharply earlier in the year.

Demand in six key markets dropped by 7.5 percent in the first quarter as users conserved fuel and switched to other forms of energy, the newsletter said.

It said that more than half of the volume was lost in the U.S. market, where demand fell by 1.4 million barrels a day. The biggest percentage decline was 12.9 percent in France. Sales declined in Japan, West Germany and Italy but rose 0.9 percent in Britain.



Otto Lambdorst

The hunt of the decline was in heavy fuel oil, but sales of other products also slipped, including those of gasoline, traditionally one of the most resilient products on the market, the newsletter said. It said one reason for the reduced demand for heavy fuel oil was that other forms of energy, such as coal and nuclear power, are being used increasingly to generate electricity.

## GM to Lift Stake in Isuzu to 42%, Sell Japanese Firms' Cars in U.S.

From Agency Dispatches  
TOKYO — General Motors has agreed to provide \$200 million of financing to Isuzu Motors, increasing its holding in the No. 6 Japanese automaker to about 42 percent from 34.2 percent, the two companies said Monday.

In turn, Isuzu plans to supply GM with about 200,000 small cars a year, to be sold in the United States and Canada under a GM brand name, beginning in late 1984.

The two companies said that GM will buy \$200 million of six-year Isuzu bonds carrying interest of 8.5 percent a year and convertible into shares. The purchase is to provide the Japanese concern with funds to build an engine plant on the northern Japanese island of Hokkaido and to expand passenger car plants.

Isuzu said the vehicles supplied to GM will be a model Isuzu is developing as a successor to its best-selling Gemini passenger cars. The new model will be a front-engine, front-wheel-drive vehicle with a capacity of 1,300 cubic centimeters for gasoline engines and 1,500 cubic centimeters for diesel engines.

The project calls for Isuzu, which is Japan's largest truck manufacturer, to raise its passenger car production capacity to at least 300,000 a year from 120,000. Isuzu's president, Toshio Okamoto, said that total investment for the project is estimated at \$422 million. Aside from GM's contribution, funds needed for the project are to be raised by issuing convertible bonds to Japan, borrowing from Japanese banks and selling property, Isuzu officials said.

The vehicle, being developed under the code name ST Car, is to be assembled at Isuzu's factory in Fujisawa, near Tokyo. Engines are to be produced at the new factory on Hokkaido.

The announcement came two days after Mr. Okamoto returned from talks in Detroit with GM's chairman, Roger Smith.

The conversion price for the bonds being issued to GM has been set at 433 yen. On Monday, Isuzu shares closed trading in Tokyo at 377 yen. The exchange rate to be used for conversion of the issue has been set at 237.20 yen to the dollar. GM is scheduled to buy the bonds June 30.

Isuzu is the second Japanese automaker to plan cooperation in automaking with GM.

Japan's No. 1 automaker, Toyota Motor, has been negotiating with GM for joint production of Toyota-developed vehicles in the United States.

Sources at Toyota said the companies have agreed in principle to produce a front-engine, front-wheel-drive car — a sister model to Toyota's best-selling Corolla — at one of GM's idle factories.

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Berliner Bank Aktiengesellschaft  
Berliner Handels- und Frankfurter Bank  
B.S.I. Unterwiesingh & Co.  
Citicorp International Corp.  
CIBC Limited  
Christiana Bank og Kreditkasse  
Commerzbank International S.A.  
Commerzbank (South East Asia) Ltd.  
Copenhagen Handelsbank  
Creditanstalt-Bankverein  
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vormals Hans W. Petersen

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Den norske Creditbank  
DG Bank Deutsche Genossenschaftsbank  
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Dresdner Bank Aktiengesellschaft  
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EuroPartners Securities Corporation  
Girozentrale und Bank der Österreichischen  
Sparkassen Aktiengesellschaft  
Goldman Sachs International Corp.  
Groupement des Banquiers Privés  
Genevois  
Hambros Bank Limited  
Georg Hauck & Sohn Bankiers  
Kommanditgesellschaft auf Aktien  
Hessische Landesbank — Girozentrale —  
Hill Samuel & Co. Limited  
Industriebank von Japan (Deutschland)  
Aktiengesellschaft  
Kidder, Peabody International Limited  
Kleinwort, Benson Limited  
Kreditbank N.V.  
Kreditbank S.A. Luxembourg  
Kreditbank Foreign Trading Contracting &  
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Morgan Guaranty Ltd.  
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The Nikko Securities Co., (Europe) Ltd.  
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Nippon International Limited  
Norddeutsche Landesbank  
Girozentrale  
Sal. Oppenheim jr. & Cie.  
Orion Royal Bank Limited  
Privatbanken Aktiengesellschaft  
N.M. Rothschild & Sons Limited  
Salomon Brothers International  
J. Henry Schroder Wagg & Co. Limited  
Schroder, Münchmeyer, Hengst & Co.  
Skandinaviska Enskilda Banken  
Société Générale  
Société Générale de Banque S.A.  
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## Chase Ponders Extent Of Drysdale Debacle

By Robert A. Bennett  
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Until last week, Chase Manhattan, the nation's third-largest bank holding company, stock analysts as well as company executives had been ebullient about Chase's strong and apparently well-balanced earnings over the last two years.

That image was badly marred when the bank announced it would take an after-tax writedown of \$135 million as a result of its dealings with Drysdale Government Securities.

The loss is equivalent to a third of Chase's 1981 earnings and threatens to produce an overall loss in the current quarter. Analysts estimated the pretax charge at \$270 million.

More important than the financial loss was the potential loss of a radiant image that Chase had artfully worked to achieve.

### Stock Price Dips

The bank's reputation was tarnished during the middle 1970s as a result of faltering earnings and a highly publicized \$20 million loss in bond trading. Chase made major efforts to turn itself around, but last week's debacle raises the question of whether those years of effort might have been in vain.

This problem was reflected in the trading of Chase's stock. The shares tumbled 7 1/2 in three days following the Drysdale disclosure.

"Already bankers and other managers in the money markets have begun asking how Chase could have become so deeply involved with Drysdale, which was shunned by most other banks and widely known for highly leveraged speculation."

Was Chase greedy, or were Chase's controls unable to detect that one of its own departments, perhaps unwittingly, was placing large sums in jeopardy?

In an interview Friday, Willard C. Butcher, Chase's chairman, said he does not know how the problem came about, and thus far he has been concentrating on how to deal with the fallout. He also refused to comment on legal liability. "I am not going to debate the legal niceties in the press," he summed up.

The losses were caused by Dry-

sdale's inability to pay interest on the securities. Chase had served as middleman in the transactions, but there is debate over whether Chase acted merely as a broker or as a principal.

"I can't give you any information about how it happened," Mr. Butcher said, adding that he has created a team of investigators headed by Frank Logan, a partner in the bank's outside law firm. He adamantly denied that the problem might have been the result of poor controls. "I don't see evidence of lack of controls; I do see errors of judgment," he said. "Am I embarrassed? Yes, I am. Am I angry? Yes, I am."

Using sports analogies, Mr. Butcher contended, "We were like a champion boxer who dropped his guard and got slugged. It certainly wasn't a fatal accident, but it did deck him and he clearly has a black eye."

Mr. Butcher also defended the bank's conduct since it first learned a little more than a week ago that Drysdale could not meet its \$160 million in interest payments due Monday. He said, "We had a good fix on the \$160 million, and we knew it would be more. But we didn't have a fix on future payments."

Later it was determined that an additional \$110 million would fall due.

### Fear of Market Collapse

To Mr. Butcher, the greatest danger was a possible collapse of the nation's \$1,000 billion government securities market if the interest went unpaid.

At an evening meeting a week ago Monday, called by Mr. Butcher and held at the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, Chase suggested that all the parties involved chip in to a \$250 million fund to meet Drysdale's interest payments. Chase volunteered to put up \$90 million, still uncertain what the ultimate cost would be, Mr. Butcher said.

Some leading Wall Street firms — such as Merrill Lynch — charged that Chase had said it had no responsibility to pay the interest due, but Mr. Butcher calls that incorrect. He said the decision to pay the full amount came after it became clear that the pool plan would not be accepted.

Mr. Butcher gave two reasons why Chase decided to pay the entire \$270 million. One was to reduce its potential liability. If the interest were not paid and if the government securities markets collapsed, Mr. Butcher feared there might have been many more claims against Chase.

Another reason was that "the cornerstone of this bank is its sense of responsibility, and we were going to live up to it and thus preserve its reputation."

## Chase Trading Under Study

From Agency Dispatches

NEW YORK — The American Stock Exchange Monday announced an investigation into trading in Chase Manhattan's put options for the trading days before it disclosed problems with Drysdale Government Securities.

The exchange said such investigations are routine in cases of significant news announcements. A put is an option to sell stock at a specified price.

## For Home Stereo, the Light At End of Tunnel Is a Laser

(Continued from Page 13)

The disk player, priced from \$600 to \$800, is to be introduced in Europe and Japan this fall and in the United States sometime next year, according to Lou Slangen, director of audio planning for North American Philips. The main obstacle to mass sales will be the initial lack of albums, although Mr. Slangen is confident that large numbers of 60-minute disks, at \$15 to \$20 each, will soon be available.

"It's a result of the Japanese style of management," said JBL's Mr. Twerdahl. "They built their plant capacity way up beyond any reason, and it's hard for them to turn off the spigot."

Moving the product is the name of the game this year as audio equipment manufacturers, unable to increase volume, jostle each other for market share. Leader Pioneer is being threatened by Panasonic's Technics line. However, regardless of which company leads the current soft market, it takes more than a market position to break even.

Audio components have reached a penetration level of 30 to 32 percent in the United States, according to the Electronic Industry Association. Few within the industry accept that figure as anywhere near the saturation point, pointing to 45 percent penetration in Europe and 65 percent in Japan.

"Technology has rather flattened out in terms of noticeable improvements," said Roland Martin of Sony. "Digital audio equipment is unquestionably the future for this industry."

The industry is anticipating a boost next year when the first digital disk player from North American Philips is introduced. Though it is not expected to replace conventional stereo systems immediately, the Philips player, which incorporates a technology called pulse code modulation, is expected to become the industry standard.

Pulse code modulation is computerized analysis of sound patterns into coding which can be stored on a disk to be converted to sound without the conventional stylus. In the Philips format, a 4 1/2-inch disk will contain the coding to be scanned by a laser. The result is nearly free of distortion.

## Analysts See U.S. GNP Edging Up

From Agency Dispatches

WASHINGTON — A survey by the National Association of Business Economists predicts slower inflation, continued high unemployment and a moderate economic recovery in the second half of 1982, the organization said Monday.

"Those taking part in the poll forecast unemployment continuing near 9 percent this year," the association said. "They expect the prime rate to drop to 14.6 percent by the end of the year; and they

forecast a fiscal year 1983 budget deficit of \$120 billion."

The 400 economists and business analysts surveyed predicted that real, or inflation-adjusted, gross national product, which fell at a 4.3 percent annual rate in the first quarter, will decline at a 0.1-percent rate in the second. GNP will then rise at a 2.4-percent annual rate in the third quarter and at a 2.9-percent pace in the fourth, they predicted. The survey forecast a 3.4-percent increase in 1983.

Inflation will be at an annual rate of 5.5 percent in the fourth quarter and 5.7 percent in 1983, down from 8.9 percent last year, the survey predicted. It forecast average annual inflation of 6.6 percent for the decade.

The survey said the prime rate should decline almost two percentage points by year-end from the current 16.5 percent, then fall to 12.9 percent by the end of 1983.

The drop in interest rates should contribute to a slow recovery in

housing and auto sales, the survey said. It predicted that the annual rate of housing starts will climb to 1.14 million by December and 1.38 million in 1983's fourth quarter from April's 881,000. Auto sales are likely to rise to an annual rate of 8.9 million by year-end and 9.7 million in late 1983 from 8.25 million in 1982's first quarter, according to the forecast.

Unemployment was forecast at 9 percent in the fourth quarter, down from 9.4 percent in April. By 1983's final quarter, unemployment should be down to 7.9 percent, the survey said.

Only 26 percent of those polled said they thought the Federal Reserve's monetary policy was too restrictive. Five percent thought Fed policy on money supply growth was too loose.

"Fiscal policy is seen as the major problem by those taking part in the survey," the association said. Sixty-three percent said fiscal policy is too easy.

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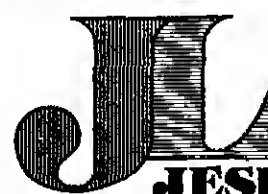
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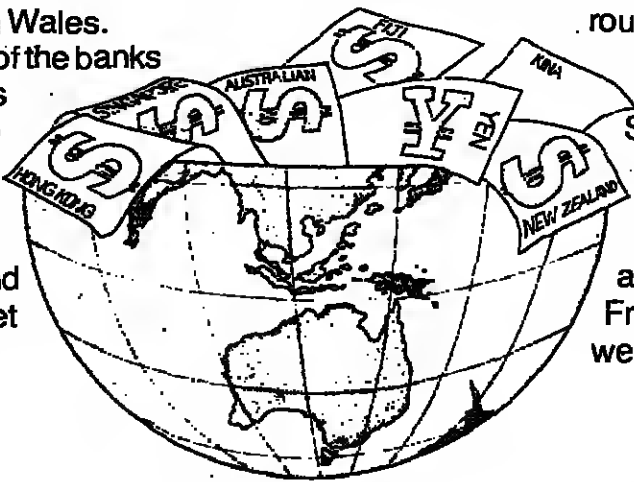
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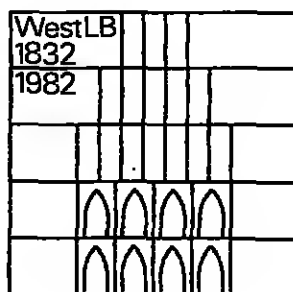
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one hundred fifty years

1832 was the year when the Bank for Regional Development was established in Westphalia to administer funds allocated for reconstruction at the Congress of Vienna. In 1854 a similar financial institution was founded in Cologne, which in 1877 moved to Düsseldorf, the main center of the region. Between these two institutions an active flow of business developed and the close contacts with the local savings banks (local universal banks) was greatly intensified. 1969 saw the merger of the two main institutions in Düsseldorf and Münster to form Westdeutsche Landesbank — WestLB — which has become one of Germany's foremost financial institutions and a major force in international wholesale banking.

1981 was a year of consolidation for the Bank against the background of world economic uncertainty. WestLB's overall capabilities were enhanced by the renewed commitment of its shareholders and the dedication of its staff, coupled with the inherent strength of the Bank itself. Business volume advanced to DM 150 billion.

Balance Sheet Total	DM 111 billion
WestLB Bonds	DM 51 billion
Deposits	DM 50 billion
Loans	DM 101 billion
Administered and Trustee Funds	DM 35 billion
Taxes	DM 55 million
Profit	DM 45 million



WestLB

Westdeutsche Landesbank Girozentrale

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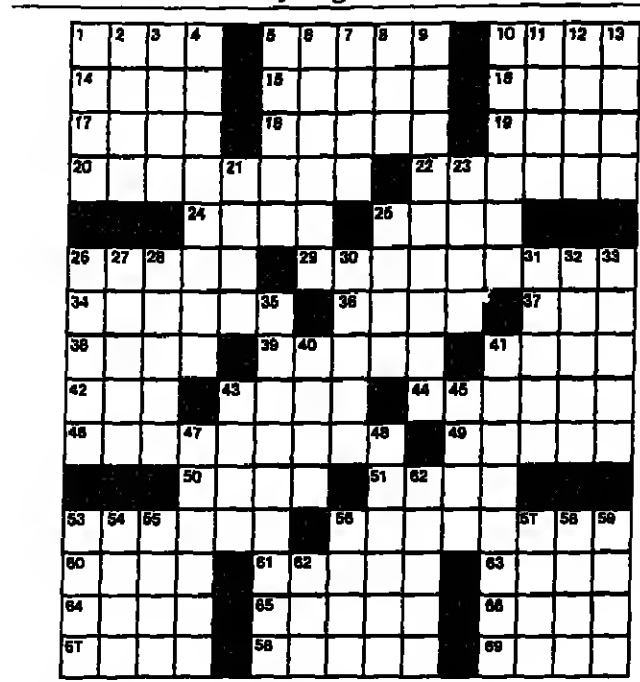






## CROSSWORD

Edited by Eugene T. Moleska



- ACROSS**
- 1 Python relatives  
5 Plus factor  
10 Kind of carriage  
14 Isometric  
15 Jittery  
16 Matty or Felipe  
17 Vinland's Ericson  
18 More aloof  
19 Wagner theme  
20 Flattery  
22 Place of births  
24 Direct a helmsman  
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26 Pythias' substitute as  
29 Consoling words to a loser  
34 Certain ester  
36 Skirmish  
37 Nautical chain or rope  
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41 Take on  
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43 Like — of bricks  
44 Bone-china item
- DOWN**
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51 Old oath  
53 Radio's Dallas  
56 Computer components  
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64 At the summit  
65 U.S. town  
66 Hawk's home  
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68 Tinker's target  
69 Love to excess
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35 Worthy of respect  
40 Set of rules  
41 Oak or beech  
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45 Modified organism  
47 Named, to Milton or Spenser  
48 Trimer  
49 Jane and Zane  
53 Emulate  
54 Place for Pierre's beret  
55 N.C. college  
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58 Inevitable  
59 Lake near Chautauqua  
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## WEATHER

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ALABAMA	72	54	Cloudy	LOS ANGELES	67	57	Cloudy	
ALASKA	72	54	Cloudy	MADRID	67	57	Cloudy	
ARIZONA	72	54	Cloudy	MANILA	33	25	Fair	
ARKANSAS	72	7	45	CLOUDY	MEXICO CITY	25	17	Stormy
CALIFORNIA	72	54	Cloudy	MIAMI	24	17	Fair	
CANADA	72	54	Cloudy	MILWAUKEE	24	17	Fair	
COLORADO	72	54	Cloudy	MONTREAL	24	17	Overcast	
CONNECTICUT	72	54	Cloudy	MOSCOW	17	6	Overcast	
DELAWARE	72	54	Cloudy	MUNICH	24	17	Overcast	
FLORIDA	72	54	Cloudy	NAGASAKI	24	17	Overcast	
GEORGIA	72	54	Cloudy	NEW DELHI	24	17	Overcast	
IDAHO	72	54	Cloudy	NEW YORK	24	17	Overcast	
ILLINOIS	72	54	Cloudy	OSLO	12	4	Overcast	
INDIANA	72	54	Cloudy	PARIS	17	11	Overcast	
IOWA	72	54	Cloudy	PERKINS	24	17	Overcast	
KANSAS	72	54	Cloudy	PRAGUE	12	5	Overcast	
KENTUCKY	72	54	Cloudy	REYKJAVIK	4	3	Overcast	
LACHAPPEL	72	54	Cloudy	RIO DE JANEIRO	24	17	Overcast	
LAKOTA	72	54	Cloudy	ROME	24	17	Overcast	
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Readings from the previous 24 hours.

Readings from the previous 24 hours.

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## INTERNATIONAL FUNDS

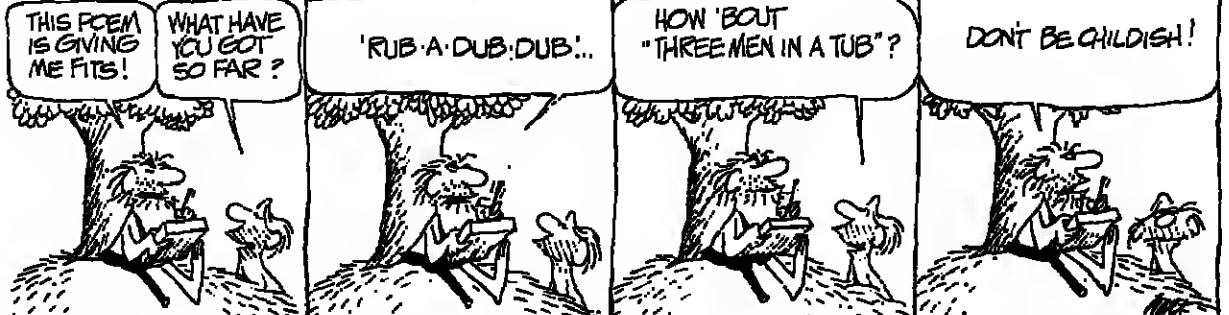
May 24, 1982

The net asset value quotations shown below are supplied by the Funds listed with the exception of some funds whose quotations are based on issues prices. The following symbols indicate frequency of quotations: (D) - daily; (W) - weekly; (M) - monthly; (Q) - quarterly; (Y) - yearly; (N) - not available.		UNITED BANK OF SWITZERLAND:	
BANK OF AMERICA	\$11.50	(1) Swiss Franc	\$11.50
BANK OF CALIFORNIA	\$11.50	(2) Swiss Franc	\$11.50
BANK OF COMMERCE	\$11.50	(3) Swiss Franc	\$11.50
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## PEANUTS



## BLOONIE



## BEE TLE BAILLY



## ANDY CAP



## WIZARD OF ID



## REX MORGAN



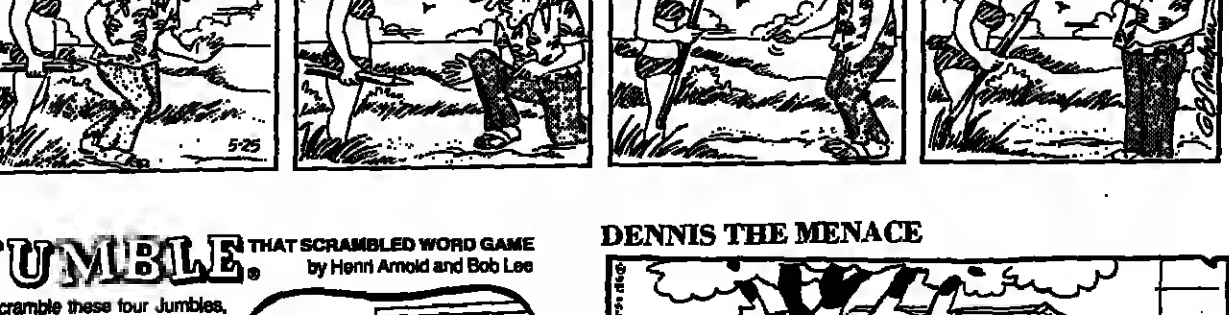
## DOONESBURY



## JUMBLE



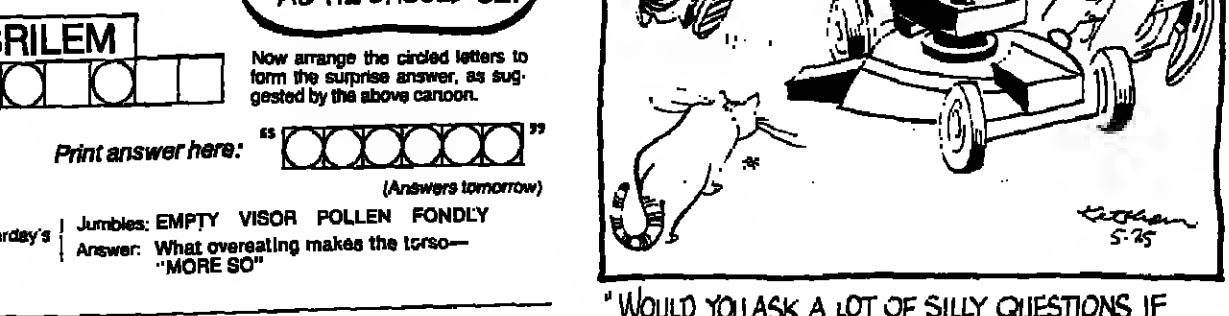
## DENNIS THE MENACE



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## BOOKS

## LAST WALTZ IN VIENNA:

The Rise and Destruction of a Family, 1842-1942.

By George Clare. 272 pp. Illustrated. \$16.50.

Holt, Rinehart &amp; Winston, 383 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10017.

Reviewed by Christopher Lehmann-Haupt

YOU expect to find terror and trauma in George Clare's memoir "Last Waltz in Vienna: The Rise and Destruction of a Family, 1842-1942." And, of course, to some extent you do. But the strange and slightly disturbing thing is that even more powerful than the terror is the poignant nostalgia the book evokes.

You read it more or less knowing the outcome of Clare's story — that the author survives, having gotten out of Austria in time, joined the English army and changed his name from George Klaar, but that his parents and many members of his family probably ended up in the death camps.

You know how illusory is the sense of security and permanence, his forebears and family got from living in the Hapsburg Empire, and later, Austria. As Clare observes: "Nothing is so impermanent as permanence, nothing so insecure as security. If Jews, as the saying goes, are like other people, only more so, then they are more so because their permanence is as impermanent as that of others, only more so, their security is as insecure as that of others, only more so."

Yet even knowing the terrible outcome of Clare's multigenerational chronicle of Jews who thought they had at last found permanence and security, I for one took bitter-sweet pleasure in this evocation of rooms filled with heavy Victorian furniture and lives filled with heavy Viennese fathers. Especially the heavy fathers, who in what Clare pronounces the Age of the Father, thought nothing of taking a midday nap with their legs resting on the shoulders of their sons (such elevation to the circulation), or inviting their children into a *Konditorei* to watch (and only watch) the patriarchal consumption of teatime pastry.

And the aunts and uncles; I was also entertained by the author's aunts and uncles — Uncle Paul, the eminent and hugely fat physician, whose idea of a diet was to substitute honey for jam on his well-buttered breakfast rolls and to halve the mountains of whipped cream that normally topped his afternoon coffee. Or Aunt Hanna, whose curiosity about what others thought of her was such that she once had her obituary announced in a newspaper, and whose pretensions were such that she had her name printed on her calling cards as Hans v. Weiss, when instead of "von" the v. actually stood for Valerie.

Still, none of this detracts from the author's primary achievement. "What the world did we think we were living in?" a friend of his family asked on the night that Austria's collapse was finally realized and Vienna's citizens were marching through the streets ecstatically crying, "Ju-da verr-r-eeckel! Ju-da verr-r-eeckel!" (Parish Jews!).

Along with the horror of its collapse, Clare has conveyed precisely and charmingly the world that for nearly a century Vienna and Europe's Jews thought they were living in.

Christopher Lehmann-Haupt is on the staff of The New York Times.

Such were some of the minor follies of assimilation. But Clare makes less minor ones also seem nearly amusing — his boyish worship of all things German; his ambition to join a youth group marching smugly in parades and crying, "Heil Dollfuss!" the chancellor's mini-Nuremberg party rally, and his inability to see the young and handsome soldiers of the Wehrmacht as "my enemies."

Disguised Agency

How can Clare have achieved this equanimity about the terrible past? Partly by telling his family's story straightforwardly and unself-consciously, enjoying all their wits to be enjoyed and accepting the subjective appeal of all that turned out to be brilliant interweaving of the personal and the public, with the result that we never lose sight of the historical context in which his family's destiny unfolded or of the domestic implications of the century's traumatic history.

Not that the narrative is by any means free of the author's trauma. Besides despair over the fate of his family, Clare conveys a conscious sense of guilt over having encouraged his father to remain where the Nazis eventually caught up with him — a guilt made more pronounced because his advice to stay in France was not only a tragic error of judgment, but it was also partly motivated by his wanting to hide his cohabitation with a woman his father greatly disapproved of. Perhaps this guilt also explains why Clare tells us so little about the woman, whom he married in 1945, and why he ends up marrying.

And then there are several passages where the transitions from private to public event are a little bit too facile, making it seem, for example, as if the author's conflicts with his father were sometimes the fault of the Nazis. Indeed, the more one thinks about the way Clare has told his story the more one sees the monsters of hidden, impulsive writing beneath the placid surface.

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## Cable Car System Repaired

SAN FRANCISCO — The city's cable cars are back in use after a three-day breakdown. The system stopped Wednesday when a fracture was found in a main drive shaft, and was returned to service Saturday. In September, the service will be halted for repairs expected to take two years.

## CHESS

By Robert Byrne

TRYING an offbeat defense to surprise your opponent is a two-edged proposition. Presumably you play it after having ascertained that it has not come up in your opponent's published games, but there is no way to be sure about what his homework has covered.

Everyone has to give most of his time to analyzing the popular defenses because they generally present the toughest obstacles to obtaining the advantage. However, the experienced tournament competitor knows that he must also be able to cope with any defense possible against his repertoire, even the very rare ones.

Walter Browne, a 33-year-old Berkeley, Calif., grandmaster and current United States co-champion, must be included among these. Yet Genna Sosonko, a Dutch grandmaster, ventured a seldom-seen defense against him in the First Lady Tournament in Indonesia — and got caught in a lost position before nine moves were played.

The symmetrical defense 3... P-B4, though more than 70 years old, is almost never seen because hardly anyone trusts it. But if it is to be justified, then after 4 P-Q4, P-P3; 5 N-P4, Black should try 5... N-P4; 6 P-K4, N-B2; 7 N-Q3, P-K4; 8 N-A4-N5, Q-Q4; 9 K-Q4, N-N4; 10 N-N4, N-B3; 11 B-QB4, B-QB4; 12 K-K2, B-Q2; 13 B-K3, K-K2; 14 K-R-Q1, B-B3; 15 P-B3, with a slight end-game advantage in mobility for White.

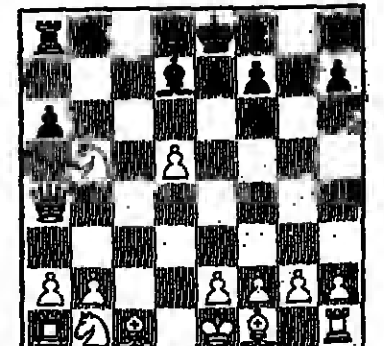
The reason for 5... P-QR3? would have become clear with 6 N-QB3?; N-P4; 7 P-K4, N-N4; 8 P-P4, N-K4, giving Black an easy game. However, Browne's 6 P-Q4! (an improvement over 6 P-K4, N-KP4; 7 Q-R4ch, B-Q2, Alekhine-Wolf, Pstyan, 1922) refuted the scheme, since 6... B-Q2; 7 Q-N3 would prevent Black from recovering his pawn.

Sosonko's 6... P-N4 was a brave try, but after 7 N-P4, B-Q2; 8 N-I-B3, Black had no way to reinforce the pin of the white KN. Thus, 8... Q-N3, could have been countered by 9 Q-Q4!

Sosonko regained one pawn with 8... N-P4; 9 N-N4, B-N4; 10 Q-Q1, but the other one he was missing was irretrievable.

Browne pointed out that it would have been even better for him to play 14 N-R5!, for example, 14... P-K3; 15 P-K4, Q-Q2; 16 N-B3, Q-N4; 17 Q-R4ch gives White a vastly superior position.

On 15 P-K3, the error 15... Q-P4, could have been punished by 16 P-Q4ch, K-Q1; 17 B-R5ch, K-B1; 18 Q-B4ch, K-Q2; 19 R-



Position after 7... B-Q2

Q1ch, forcing mate. Of course, 15... Q-Q2; 16 B-B3, Q-Q4; 17 R-Q4 put Black into a lost ending.

The point of Browne's 27 B-B5 was that 27... R-B3; 28 B-Q3, P-R4; 29 B-B2 permits no defense against 30 White's winning another pawn by 30 P-Q4, 31 R-R4 and 32 R-P4. Thus, Sosonko had to submit to simplification with 27... B-N4; 28 B-B3, R-B3.

On 35... R-KN1, it would have been more exact for Browne to play 36 P-N4 rather than allow Sosonko to exchange several kingside pawns after 36 P-Q4,



# 76ers Beat Celtics, 120-106, Will Meet Lakers in Finals

## Lendl, Other Seeds Win Openers in Paris

## Hartack Goes to Whip

## Expos Defeat Reds, 4-2, to Sweep Series

ble. The run also ended the Orioles' scoreless pitching streak at 3 innings.

## Bettenhausen Leads Fast Field for Indy 500

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